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EVIDENCES
OF THE
GENUINENESS OF THE GOSPELS.

VOLUME I.

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THE
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OF THE
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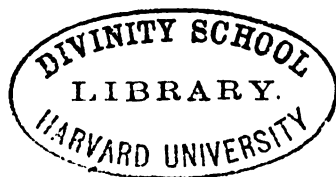
By ANDREWS NORTON.

VOLUME I.

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P R E F A C E .

I BEGAN the work of which I now publish the first volume, in the year 1819 ; and was then so much in error respecting the inquiries to which it would lead me, that I recollect believing that it might be completed in six months. I have since deceived myself and some of my friends with the expectation of its speedy conclusion. The causes of delay have been partly circumstances merely personal, partly my being occupied by other objects theological and literary, but principally the fact, that the inquiry on which we are about to enter, when thoroughly pursued, presents itself in unexpected relations to many important subjects, all of which it is necessary to examine in order to its satisfactory discussion. As regards some of the principal of these subjects, the truth did not seem to me to have been established ; and, as regards every subject that may be embraced in such a work

as the present, he who would execute it in a proper manner should examine for himself ; trusting as little as possible to second-hand information, and neither adopting old opinions because they have been acquiesced in, nor new opinions because they have been confidently asserted.

The various bearings of the inquiry have given occasion to the large body of notes contained in this volume. Some of them, as will be perceived, present a detail of the facts on which assertions in the text are founded, and resemble the authorities annexed to an historical work. Others are properly dissertations on subjects intimately connected with the main question, though they possess at the same time an independent interest, which I have not thought it necessary to keep out of view. In these dissertations, as well as in the text of the work, I have endeavoured so to explain myself as to be readily understood by all intelligent readers, whether familiar with theological studies or not.

I have published this volume separately, because it completes one division of the work intended, containing the statement of the testimony of the great body of early Christians to the genuineness of the Gospels. It likewise comprises as large a number of subjects as it may be well to present at once to

the attention of my readers ; and, such being the case, I was desirous of saving this portion of my labors from the accidents to which a manuscript is exposed.

It is my purpose next to show the strong confirmation of the more direct historical evidence, afforded by the manner in which the Gospels were regarded by the early Gnostic heretics ; a field which, though not untrodden, has been unexplored ; and then, after endeavouring to remove some misapprehensions respecting the historical, to proceed to the collateral evidence for the genuineness of the Gospels. The larger portion of the manuscript of the remainder of the work has been written ; but it is yet to be subjected to revision, and, after my past experience, it would be unwise for me to hazard a calculation respecting the time that may be required to prepare for the public the two volumes which will finish my design. Should life and health be granted me, I shall proceed as I have proposed ; but it should be observed that this volume is, in its nature, an independent work, and might have been so published, had no others been intended to follow.

Cambridge, 19 February, 1837.

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THE
GENUINENESS
OF THE
GOSPELS.

INTRODUCTION.

STATEMENT OF THE CASE.

THE object of the following work is to prove the genuineness of the Gospels. In asserting their genuineness, I mean to be understood as affirming, that they remain essentially the same as they were originally written ; and that they have been ascribed to their true authors. The ground which has been taken by those who have denied their genuineness, as thus explained, may appear from the following statements.

The Gospels are quoted, as the undoubted works of the authors to whom they are ascribed, by an unbroken series of Christian writers, reaching back to the end of the second century ; or in other words, to the time of Irenæus, who wrote in the last quarter of that century. But it is affirmed, that beyond his time, the testimony to their genuineness fails. As we ascend to a remoter period, we come to the writings

of Justin Martyr, who flourished about the middle of the second century; and to those ascribed to Apostolic Fathers, or supposed contemporaries of the apostles. It has been affirmed, that these writings, though they are commonly quoted for the purpose, afford no evidence, that our present Gospels were known to their authors. In regard to the writings attributed to Apostolic Fathers, the remark is not new. It was made, for instance, by Bolingbroke, who, in his *Letters on the Study of History*, has the following passage.

“Writers copy one another; and the mistake that was committed, or the falsehood that was invented by one, is adopted by hundreds.

“Abbadie says, in his famous book, that the gospel of St. Matthew is cited by Clemens, Bishop of Rome, a disciple of the apostles; that Barnabas cites it in his epistle; that Ignatius and Polycarp receive it; and that the same fathers that give testimony for Matthew, give it likewise for Mark. Nay, your Lordship will find, I believe, that the present Bishop of London [Gibson], in his third pastoral letter, speaks to the same effect. I will not trouble you nor myself with any more instances of the same kind. Let this, which occurred to me as I was writing, suffice. It may well suffice;

for I presume the fact advanced by the minister and the bishop, is a mistake. If the fathers of the first century do mention some passages that are agreeable to what we read in our evangelists, will it follow that these fathers had the same gospels before them? To say so, is a manifest abuse of history, and quite inexcusable in writers that knew, or should have known, that these fathers made use of other gospels, wherein such passages might be contained; or they might be preserved in unwritten tradition. Besides which, I could almost venture to affirm, that these fathers of the first century do not expressly name the Gospels we have of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John.”*

The supposition of Bolingbroke in the last sentence is true; or rather, to state the fact precisely, the Gospels are not named in the writings *ascribed* to fathers of the first century. In agreement with what has been quoted, Professor Eichhorn, in his Introduction to the New Testament, endeavours to prove at length, that the authors of those writings did not make use of our present Gospels, but of others different from them.†

* Letter V. § 4.

† Einleitung in d. N. T. i. e. Introduction to the New Testament. Vol. I. p. 113. seqq. I give the pages of the first edition, which are numbered likewise in the margin of the second.

Another German theologian, Less, who died about the close of the last century, wrote in defence of the genuineness of the books of the New Testament. In treating this subject, the results at which he arrives, from an examination of the writings just mentioned, are thus stated by Bishop Marsh.

“From the epistle of Barnabas, no inference can be deduced that he had read any part of the New Testament. From the genuine epistle, as it is called, of Clement of Rome, it may be inferred that Clement had read the first epistle to the Corinthians. From the Shepherd of Hermas, no inference whatsoever can be drawn. From the epistles of Ignatius, it may be concluded that he had read St. Paul’s epistle to the Ephesians, and that there existed in his time evangelical writings, though it cannot be shown that he has quoted from them. From Polycarp’s epistle to the Philippians, it appears that he had heard of St. Paul’s epistle to that community, and that he quotes a passage which is in the first epistle to the Corinthians, and another which is in the epistle to the Ephesians; but no positive conclusion can be drawn with respect to any other epistle, or any of the four Gospels.”*

* Marsh’s Michaelis. Vol. I. p. 354.

According to this statement it would appear, that no evidence can be derived from the works ascribed to Apostolic Fathers in proof of the genuineness of the Gospels.

The writings of Justin Martyr have, till of late, been appealed to confidently, as affording very early and very important evidence of this fact. Lardner states, that "he has numerous quotations of our Gospels, except that of St. Mark, which he has seldom quoted;" that "it must be plain to all, that he owned and had the highest respect for the four Gospels;" and that he affords proof, that "these Gospels were publicly read in the assemblies of the Christians every Lord's day."* "It seems extremely material to be observed," says Paley, "that in all Justin's works, from which might be extracted almost a complete life of Christ, there are but two instances in which he refers to any thing as said or done by Christ, which is not related concerning him in our present Gospels; which shows that these Gospels, and these, we may say, alone, were the authorities from which the Christians of that day drew the information upon which they depended."†

* Lardner's Credibility of the Gospel History. P. II. c. 10.

† Paley's Evidences of Christianity. P. I. c. ix. s. 1.

It is, however, at present contended, that Justin Martyr did not quote from our four Gospels, and therefore cannot afford evidence of their genuineness. He does not mention them by name. His quotations which agree in sense with passages found in the Gospels, he professes to take from what he calls 'Memoirs by the Apostles;' and in these quotations, there is generally a want of verbal coincidence with the passages in the Gospels to which they otherwise correspond.

"Mr. Stroth," says Bishop Marsh, "has shown by very satisfactory arguments, that these Memoirs were not our four Gospels, but a single gospel, which had much matter in common with the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke; but which was not the same with any of them. Since Mr. Stroth's time, the subject has been again investigated by several eminent critics; and the uniform result of their inquiries is, that Justin's *Ἀπομνημονεύματα* [the Memoirs in question] were not our four Gospels, but some single gospel."* "If," says Bishop Marsh, in another work, "the force of Mr. Stroth's arguments be admitted (and they seem really convincing), we cannot produce Justin as an evi-

* Letters to the anonymous Author of Remarks on Michaelis and his Commentator. p. 29.

dence for the four Gospels; but, on the other hand, no inference can be deduced to their disadvantage.”*

The concluding remark, that no inference can be deduced to the disadvantage of the Gospels, Bishop Marsh endeavours to illustrate; but its truth will not be admitted by those who deny the genuineness of the Gospels; and the proposition does not, in itself, appear tenable.

“Justin Martyr,” says Eichhorn, “who was born A. D. 89, and died A. D. 163, a Samaritan, a native of Flavia Neapolis, early became converted from a heathen philosopher to a zealous Christian, and was one of the earliest Christian writers. He nowhere quotes the life and sayings of Jesus according to our present four Gospels, which he was not acquainted with. This is a very important circumstance in regard to the history of the Gospels; as he had devoted many years to travel, and resided a long time in Italy and Asia Minor.”†

On the whole, it is concluded by Eichhorn and others, that our four Gospels, *in their present form*, were not in use, and were not known, till the end of the second century. Previously to that time, it is supposed, that other gospels were

* Marsh's *Michaelis*. I. 361.

† *Einleitung* in d. N. T. I. 78.

in circulation, allied to those which we possess, but not the same. "If we will not," says Eichhorn, "be influenced by mere assertions and unsupported tradition, but by the only sure evidence of history, we must conclude that before our present Gospels, other decidedly different gospels were in circulation, and were used during the first two centuries in the instruction of Christians."* Eichhorn, however, does not deny that the canonical Gospels are, *in a certain sense*, the works of the authors to whom they have been ascribed. He expressly defends the genuineness of that of John; and with regard to the three others, he says; "According to the uniform tradition of the Church, the first three Gospels proceeded from Matthew, Mark, and Luke. This tradition is not to be called in question, unless there are strong reasons against it; and where are such reasons to be found?"† He contends, however, that the Gospels have been grossly corrupted. His statements respecting this subject are connected with his account of the supposed common origin of the first three of our present Gospels and of the gospels which he believes to have been in use before those we now possess. This account is as follows.

* Einleit. in d. N. T. I. 140. † Ibid. p. 401.

There was very early in existence a short historical sketch of the life of Christ, which may be called the Original Gospel. This was, probably, provided for the use of those assistants of the apostles in the work of teaching Christianity, who had not themselves seen the actions and heard the discourses of Christ. It was however but 'a rough sketch, a brief and imperfect account, without historical plan or methodical arrangement.' In this respect it was, according to Eichhorn, very different from our four Gospels. "These present no rough sketch, such as we must suppose the first essay upon the life of Jesus to have been; but, on the contrary, are works written with art and labor, and contain portions of his life, of which no mention was made in the first preaching of Christianity."* This Original Gospel was the basis both of the earlier gospels used during the first two centuries, and of the first three of our present Gospels, namely, those of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, by which those earlier gospels were finally superseded. The earlier gospels retained more or less of the rudeness and incompleteness of the Original Gospel.

"But they very soon fell into the hands of those who undertook to supply their defects

* Ibid. p. 5.

and incompleteness, both in the general compass of the history, and in the narration of particular events. Not content with a life of Jesus, which, like the gospel of the Hebrews, and those of Marcion and Tatian, commenced with his public appearance, there were those who early prefixed to the Memoirs used by Justin Martyr, and to the gospel of Cerinthus, an account of his descent, his birth, and the period of his youth. In like manner, we find, upon comparing together, in parallel passages, the remaining fragments of these gospels, that they were receiving continual accessions. The voice from heaven at the baptism of Jesus, was originally stated to have been ; *Thou art my Son ; this day have I begotten thee* ; as it is quoted by Justin Martyr in two places. Clement of Alexandria found the same, in a gospel of which we have no particular description, with the addition of the word, 'beloved' ; *Thou art my beloved son ; this day have I begotten thee*. Other gospels represented the voice as having been ; *Thou art my beloved son, with whom I am well pleased* ; as it is given in the catholic Gospels, namely, in Mark i. 11. In the gospel of the Ebionites, according to Epiphanius, both accounts of the voice from heaven were united ; *Thou art my beloved son, with whom I am*

well pleased ; and again ; This day have I begotten thee. By these continual accessions, the original text of the life of Jesus was lost in a mass of additions, so that its words appeared among them but as insulated fragments. Of this any one may satisfy himself from the account of the baptism of Jesus, which was compiled out of various gospels. The necessary consequence was, that at last truth and falsehood, authentic and fabulous narratives, or such, at least, as through long tradition had become disfigured and falsified, were brought together promiscuously. The longer these narratives passed from mouth to mouth, the more uncertain and disfigured they would become. At last, at the end of the second and the beginning of the third century, in order, as far as might be, to preserve the true accounts concerning the life of Jesus, and to deliver them to posterity as free from error as possible, the Church, out of the many gospels which were extant, selected four, which had the greatest marks of credibility, and the necessary completeness for common use. There are no traces of our present Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, before the end of the second and the beginning of the third century. Irenæus, about the year 202, first speaks decisively of four gospels ; and imagines all sorts

of reasons for this particular number ; and Clement of Alexandria, about the year 216,* labored to collect divers accounts concerning the origin of these four Gospels, in order to prove that these alone should be acknowledged as authentic. From these facts, it is evident, that first, about the end of the second and the beginning of the third century, the Church labored to establish the universal authority of these four Gospels, which were in existence before, if not altogether in their present form, yet in most respects such as we now have them, and to procure their general reception in the Church, with the suppression of all other gospels then extant.

“Posterity would indeed have been under much greater obligations, if, together with the Gospel of John, the Church had established, by public authority, only the first rough sketch of the life of Jesus, which was given to the earliest missionaries to authenticate their preaching ; after separating it from all its additions and augmentations. But this was no

* The dates here assigned by Eichhorn, it should be observed, are, as has been computed, the dates of the death of Irenæus and of Clement, not of the period about which they wrote and flourished. These dates he elsewhere gives correctly.

longer possible; for there was no copy extant free from all additions, and the critical operation of separating this accessory matter was too difficult for those times." *

"Many ancient writers of the church," Eichhorn subjoins in a note, "doubted the genuineness of many parts of our Gospels; but were prevented from coming to a decision by want of critical skill." † It may be proper, however, to observe, that the only *ancient writer of the Church*, whom he quotes in proof of this assertion, is Faustus, the well known Manichæan of the fourth century.

In treating of the continual alterations and additions, to which he supposes *the text of the Original Gospel* to have been subjected, before it assumed that form in which it was used by the first three evangelists, Eichhorn observes, that "such an arbitrary mode of dealing with the composition of another, so that it shall pass thus altered into circulation, is in our times a thing unheard of and impossible; because it is prevented by the multiplication of printed copies. But it was different," he proceeds, "before the invention of printing. In transcribing a manuscript, the most arbitrary altera-

* Einleit. in d. N. T. I. 142—145.

† Ibid. p. 145.

tions were considered as allowable, since they affected only an article of private property, written for one's individual use. But these altered manuscripts being again transcribed, without inquiry whether the manuscript transcribed contained the pure text of the author; altered copies of works thus passed unobserved into circulation. How many manuscripts of the chronicles of the middle ages, of which several manuscripts are extant, agree with each other in exhibiting the same text, equally copious, or equally brief? What numerous complaints do we read in the fathers of the first centuries concerning the arbitrary alterations made in their writings, published but a short time before, by the possessors or transcribers of manuscripts. Scarcely had copies of the letters of Dionysius of Corinth begun to circulate, before, as he expresses himself, 'the apostles of Satan filled them with tares; omitting some things and adding others;' and the same fate, according to his testimony, the holy scriptures themselves could not escape. If transcribers had not permitted themselves to make the most arbitrary alterations in the writings of others, would it have been as customary as we find it was, for authors of those times, to adjure their readers, at the end of

their writings, to make no alterations in them, and to denounce the most fearful curses against those who should undertake to do so?

“The histories of Jesus must also have been subjected to the same mode of treatment. Does not Celsus object to the Christians, that they had changed the gospels three times, four times, and oftener? From what other cause can it proceed, that we still find fragments of the apocryphal gospels, in which all the accounts respecting some particular passage of the life of Jesus, which are elsewhere found scattered in different gospels, are brought together and combined into one whole? Thus the apocryphal gospel of the Ebionites, quoted by Epiphanius, has brought together all relating to the baptism of Jesus, which is found concerning it in our three first Gospels, and in the Memoirs by the Apostles, used by Justin Martyr.”*

“As soon,” he remarks in another place, “as the history of our catholic Gospels commences, we find men without any critical knowledge, busy in altering their text, in shortening and lengthening it, and in making changes of synonymous words. And is this to be wondered at? Ever since the existence of written histories of Jesus, it

* Einleit. in d. N. T. I. 173. seqq.

had been customary for the possessors of manuscripts to make alterations in their text, according to the particular knowledge which they had of his preaching and actions, and of the events of his life. The second and third generations of Christians continued this practice respecting the gospels, which the first had begun. The custom was, in the second century, so generally known, that even those who were not believers, were acquainted with it. Celsus objects to the Christians, that they had changed their gospels three times, four times, and oftener, as if they were deprived of their senses. Clement also, at the end of the second century, speaks of those who corrupted the gospels, and ascribes it to them, that at Matthew v. 10. instead of the words, *for theirs is the kingdom of heaven*; there was found in some manuscripts, *for they shall be perfect*; and in others, *for they shall have a place where they shall not be persecuted.*" *

The preceding statements give a view of the difficulties which have been supposed to attend the proof of the genuineness of the Gospels; and likewise of the opinions which have been entertained respecting their gross corruption,

* Ibid. pp. 652, 653.

supposing them, in a certain sense, to have proceeded from the authors to whom they have been ascribed. The passages quoted from Eichhorn are not to be regarded as expressing the views of only a single writer. No work of a similar kind has been received in Germany with more approbation than his "Introduction to the New Testament"; and his notions respecting the Gospels, or others of the same general character, essentially affecting the belief of their genuineness, have been held by many modern German writers.

But if the preceding statements and opinions be correct, an objector may say, "You have little or rather no evidence for the genuineness of the Gospels, which reaches back beyond the close of the second century; though they were composed, as you imagine, about one hundred and fifty years before. You have, in fact, no proof of their existence, *in their present form*, previous to that period. All that can be rendered probable is, that some works were in existence, which served as a basis for the Gospels you now possess. But if, during the first two centuries, it was so common to enlarge the histories of Jesus Christ, then in use, with traditionary tales, and with additions of various kinds, great and small; and to alter and remodel

them, as the transcribers or possessors of manuscripts might think proper; you can hardly pretend to rely with much confidence upon those histories which now exist. We know in what manner the legends of saints have been gradually swelled with the addition of miraculous stories, unknown to those by whom they were first composed; and something very similar may have been the case with your Gospels."

In answer, then, to all that has been alleged, the object of the following work is to establish these two propositions. I. That the Gospels remain essentially the same as they were originally composed. II. That they have been ascribed to their true authors.

PART I.

**PROOF THAT THE GOSPELS REMAIN ESSENTIALLY THE SAME
AS THEY WERE ORIGINALLY COMPOSED.**

PART I.



CHAPTER I.

ARGUMENT FROM THE AGREEMENT OF THE RESPECTIVE COPIES OF THE FOUR GOSPELS.

THE first proposition to be established, that the Gospels remain essentially the same as they were originally composed, requires some explanation and remark.

In regard to St. Matthew's Gospel, the proposition is to be understood in a particular sense. This Gospel, it is probable, was originally composed in Hebrew ; and we possess only a Greek translation, made at a very early period.* This translation, it will be my purpose to show, has been faithfully preserved. To this alone, the general remarks and arguments respecting the correct transmission of the Gospels, advanced in the present chapter, must be considered as *directly* applying. But no reason has ever been adduced for suspecting, that the translation was

* On this subject see Additional Note, A.

not intended to be a faithful representative of the original.

The Gospels, I have said, remain *essentially* the same, as they were originally written. In common with all other ancient writings, they have been exposed to the accidents to which works preserved by transcription are liable. In the very numerous authorities for determining their text, we find a great number of differences, or various readings. But, by comparing those authorities together, we are able, in general, to ascertain satisfactorily the original text of the last three Gospels, and of the Greek translation of St. Matthew. There are, however, a few passages admitted into the Received Text (the text in common use before the publication of Griesbach's edition), some extant in a majority of our present manuscripts, and some even in all, the genuineness of which is still questionable. Various considerations, arising from some of these passages not being found in manuscripts of the highest authority, from direct historical evidence concerning them in the writings of the fathers, from their unsuitableness to the context, from the nature of their contents, and from the want of correspondence between their style and that of the evangelist in whose work they now stand, may lead us to disbelieve or doubt that they

proceeded from him. In mentioning such as are extant in all our present manuscripts, I refer particularly to certain passages in the Greek Gospel of Matthew. This translation was made, probably, either from one or from a very few manuscripts of the Hebrew Gospel; and, however faithfully the translator intended to represent his original, he may have erred in mistaking additions or interpolations, found in the copy or copies which he followed, for portions of the genuine text.

I will here mention or refer to the more important passages in the Received Text of the Gospels, which, from such causes as I have spoken of, may, I think, be regarded as spurious or as lying under suspicion. I shall reserve a more particular examination of them for another place, where I shall treat at length of the various readings of the text of the Gospels.*

There are strong reasons for thinking, that the first two chapters of our present copies of the Greek Gospel of Matthew made no part of the original Hebrew. We may suppose them to have been an ancient document, which, from the connexion of the subject with his history, was transcribed into the same volume with it, and which, though first written as a distinct work,

* See Additional Note, A.

with some mark of separation, yet in process of time became blended with it, so as apparently to form its commencement. Being thus found incorporated with the Gospel in the manuscript, or in manuscripts, used by the translator, it was rendered by him as part of his original.

There are two other passages in our Greek Gospel of Matthew, which I have remarked upon in the Additional Note, just referred to in the margin, and which, as it seems to me, there are strong reasons for regarding as interpolated. These passages are the narrative concerning Judas in the twenty-seventh chapter, beginning with the third and ending with the tenth verse, and the account of the raising of the bodies of many saints at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion, in the latter part of the fifty-second verse and the fifty-third of the same chapter.

As respects Mark's Gospel there is ground for believing, that the last twelve verses were not written by the evangelist, but were added by some other writer to supply a short conclusion to the work, which some cause had prevented the author from completing.

In Luke's Gospel, the only passage of any considerable length or importance, the genuineness of which appears to me liable to suspicion, consists of the forty-third and forty-fourth verses

of the twenty-second chapter, containing an account of the descent of an angel to Jesus, and of his agony and bloody sweat.

In John's Gospel, what now stands as the conclusion, the latter part of the twenty-fourth verse and the twenty-fifth, of the last chapter, has the air of an editorial note. As such, it was, I think, probably distinguished when first written, though this distinction was afterwards neglected by transcribers.

In the Received Text of this Gospel there are likewise two other passages to be considered. The genuineness of the last clause of the third and the whole of the fourth verse of the fifth chapter, which contain an account of the descent of the angel into the pool of Bethesda, is very questionable; and the story of the woman taken in adultery is, in my opinion, justly regarded by a majority of modern critics as not having been a part of the original Gospel.

The two passages last mentioned, and the other *interpolations* that have been suggested, that is, the two insertions into the body of the text of the original Hebrew of Matthew's Gospel, and one into that of Luke's Gospel, were, we may suppose, first written as notes or additional matter in the margin of some copies of the Gospel in which they are found. But passages

belonging to the text of a work, which had been accidentally omitted by a transcriber, were, likewise, often preserved in the margin. From this circumstance, notes and additional matter, thus written, were not unfrequently mistaken for parts of the text, and introduced by a subsequent copier into what he thought their proper place. This is a fruitful source of various readings in ancient writings ; and may explain how the passages in question, if not genuine, have become incorporated with the text of the Gospels.

The facts that have been mentioned, respecting doubtful or spurious passages in the text of the Gospels, imply nothing opposite to the general proposition maintained. On the contrary, in reasoning concerning those passages, we go upon the supposition of its truth. It is assumed, that the Gospels, generally speaking, have been faithfully preserved ; but it is contended, that there are particular reasons for doubting, whether one or another of the passages in question, though found in many or in all the extant manuscripts of a Gospel, proceeded from the pen of the evangelist. These reasons are specific, applying in every case to the particular passage under consideration, and not admitting of a general application. They suppose no new theory respecting the corruption of the Gospels, and no habit

in transcribers of making unlicensed alterations. They imply nothing more than the operation of particular accidents, producing error in particular cases ; the possibility of which none will deny. All that we can say respecting any ancient work is, that it remains *essentially* the same as it was originally composed. For specific reasons, applying to some particular passage, we may doubt, whether it proceeded from the pen of the evangelist. But unless the Gospels were exposed, as has been imagined, to some *peculiar* causes of corruption, there can be no question that, generally speaking, we have satisfactory means of determining the original text of the last three Gospels and that of the Greek translation of Matthew ; the number of authorities for settling it, manuscripts, ancient versions, and quotations by ancient writers, being far more numerous and important than those for settling the text of any other ancient writing.

We proceed then to the proof, that the Gospels have not been exposed to any peculiar causes of corruption ; but remain essentially the same, as they were originally composed.

This appears, in the first place, from the agreement between our present manuscript copies of the Gospels, or of parts of the Gospels, in whatever form these copies appear.

There have been examined, in a greater or less degree, about six hundred and seventy manuscripts* of the whole, or of portions, of the Greek text of the Gospels. These were written in different countries, and at different periods, probably from the fifth century, downwards. They have been found in places widely remote from each other, in Asia, in Africa, and from one extremity of Europe to the other. Besides these manuscripts of the Greek text, there are many manuscripts of ancient versions of the Gospels, in at least eleven different languages of the three great divisions of the world just mentioned. There are, likewise, many manuscripts of the works of the Christian fathers, abounding in quotations from the Gospels; and, especially, of ancient commentaries on the Gospels, such as those of Origen, who lived in the third century, and of Chrysostom, who lived in the fourth; in which we find their text quoted, as the different portions of it are successively the subjects of remark.

Now, all these different copies of the Gospels, or parts of the Gospels, so numerous, so various in their character, so unconnected, offering themselves to notice in parts of the world so

* See Scholz's Catalogue in the Prolegomena to his N. T.

remote from each other, concur in giving us essentially the same text. Divide them into four classes, corresponding to the four Gospels, and it is evident, that those of each class are to be referred to one common source; that they are all copies more or less remote of the same original; that they all had one common text for their archetype. They vary, indeed, more or less from each other; but these variations have arisen from the common accidents of transcription, or, as regards the versions, partly from errors of translation; or, in respect to the quotations by the fathers, partly from the circumstance, that, in ancient as in modern times, the language of scripture was often cited loosely, from memory, and without regard to verbal accuracy, in cases where no particular verbal accuracy was required. The agreement among the extant copies of any one of the Gospels, or of portions of it, is essential; the disagreements are accidental and trifling, originating in causes, which, from the nature of things, we know must have been in operation. Every copy of any one of the Gospels presents us with essentially the same work, the same general history, the same particular facts, the same doctrines, the same precepts, the same characteristics of the writer, the same

form of narration, the same style, and the same use of language ; and by comparing together different copies, we are able to ascertain the original text to a great degree of exactness ; or, in other words, where various readings occur, to determine what were probably the words of the author. The Greek manuscripts, then, of any one of the Gospels, the versions of it, and the quotations from it by the fathers, are all, professedly, copies of that Gospel or of parts of it ; and these copies correspond with each other. But, as these professed copies thus correspond with each other, it follows that they were derived more or less remotely from one archetype. Their agreement admits of no explanation, except that of their being conformed to a common exemplar. In respect to each of the Gospels, the copies which we possess must all be referred, for their source, to one original Gospel, one original text, one original manuscript. As far back as our knowledge extends, Christians, throughout all past ages, in Syria, at Alexandria, at Rome, at Carthage, at Constantinople, and at Moscow, in the east and in the west, have all used copies of each of the Gospels, which were evidently derived from one original manuscript, and necessarily imply that such a manuscript, existing as their archetype, has been faithfully copied.

Let us now consider what must have been the consequence, if the supposition before stated, respecting the license taken by different transcribers, were true of any one of the Gospels. In this case, one transcriber, in one part of the world, would have made certain alterations in his copy, and inserted certain narratives which he had collected; and another, in another place, would have made different alterations, and inserted different narratives. Such copies, upon the supposition that this imagined license continued, would, when again transcribed, have been again changed and enlarged. Copies would have been continually multiplying, diverging more and more from the original and from each other. The original text would have been confounded and lost among additions and changes, till, at last, it might have appeared, to quote the language of Eichhorn, only in "insulated fragments."* No generally received text would have existed; none, therefore, could have been preserved and handed down. Instead of that agreement among the copies of each Gospel, which now exists, we should have found everywhere manuscripts, presenting us with different collections of narratives and sayings; and differ-

* See p. 11.

ing, at the same time, in their arrangement of the same facts, and in their general style of expression. There would have been as great a want of correspondence among the manuscripts, which professed to contain any particular Gospel, as there is known to exist among those of the Arabian Nights, or among the copies of the *Gesta Romanorum*. They would have been more unlike than those manuscripts of chronicles of the middle ages to which Eichhorn refers,* as the Gospels have been much more frequently transcribed. The copies of these writings would have presented the same phenomena as those of some of the apocryphal books, that, for example, called the Gospel of the Infancy, which appears in several different forms, this collection of fables having been remodelled by one after another according to his fancy. At the same time, we should have found the want of agreement which must have existed between different manuscripts of any one of the Gospels, extending itself equally to the translations of that Gospel, and to the professed quotations from it in ancient writers.

* See p. 14.

The argument which has been employed, seems easy to be comprehended; and at the same time conclusive of the fact, that all our present copies of each of the Gospels are to be traced back to one original manuscript, in multiplying the copies of which, no such liberties can have been taken by transcribers, as are supposed in the hypothesis under consideration. The argument seems, likewise, very obvious; yet its force and bearing appear to have been overlooked in framing that hypothesis. The fact does not seem to have been distinctly adverted to, that the transcriber or possessor of a manuscript, making such alterations as the hypothesis supposes, could introduce them only into a single copy, and into such others as might be transcribed from it; and that he could not, properly speaking, add to or corrupt the work itself. His copy would have no influence upon contemporary copies; and in the case of the Gospels, we may say, upon numerous contemporary copies, in which the true text might be preserved, or into which different alterations might be introduced. It is quite otherwise, since the invention of printing. He who now introduces a corruption into the printed edition of a work, introduces it into all the copies of that

edition ; if it be the only edition, into all the copies of that work ; and in many cases, into a great majority of the copies which are extant, or which are most accessible. All these copies will agree in presenting us with the same changes or interpolations. He may properly be said to corrupt the work itself. Thus, before the invention of printing, the famous text in the first Epistle of John, v. 7. was to be found, as far as is known, in not more than two Greek manuscripts of all those in existence.* But it was early admitted into a printed edition of the New Testament ; and it is now to be found in a great majority of the printed copies, and, consequently, of all the copies, of the New Testament. It is not now to be considered as a corruption of a particular manuscript, but as a corruption of the epistle itself. If printing had not been invented, and the epistle had been preserved, as before, only by transcription, the fact would, probably, have been very different. The passage, instead of being in a great majority of copies, might have been found only in a very small minority.

* The Codex Montfortianus, and another lately discovered in the Vatican Library by Dr. Scholz ; if the latter were written before the invention of printing. See his *Biblisch-kritische Reise*, i. e. *Travels for the Purpose of Biblical Criticism*, p. 105.

The power of an ancient copier to alter the text of a work was very different from that of a modern editor; yet it would seem, that they must have been confounded in the hypothesis under consideration; unless some further account is to be given of the manner, in which the text of our present Gospels has been formed and perpetuated.

It is evident from the preceding statements, that the existing copies of each of the Gospels have been derived from some common exemplar, faithfully followed by transcribers. But it may be said, that this exemplar was not the original work, as it proceeded from the hand of the evangelist; that the lineage of our present copies is not to be traced so high; but that at some period, the course of corruption, which has been described, was arrested; and a standard text was selected and determined upon, which has served as an archetype for all existing copies; but that this text, thus fixed as the standard, had already suffered greatly from the corruptions of transcribers, and was very different from the original. This supposition is implied in the following passage from Eichhorn, which has been before quoted.* “At last, at the end

* See p. 11.

of the second and the beginning of the third century, in order, as far as might be, to preserve the true accounts concerning the life of Jesus, and to deliver them to posterity as free from error as possible, the Church, out of the many gospels which were extant, selected four, which had the greatest marks of credibility, and the necessary completeness for common use. There are no traces of our present Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, before the end of the second and the beginning of the third century. Irenæus, about the year 202, first speaks decisively of four gospels; and imagines all sorts of reasons for this particular number; and Clement of Alexandria, about the year 216, labored to collect divers accounts concerning the origin of these four Gospels, in order to prove that these alone should be acknowledged as authentic. From these facts, it is evident, that, first, about the end of the second, and the beginning of the third century, the Church labored to establish the universal authority of these four Gospels, which were in existence before, if not altogether in their present form, yet in most respects such as we now have them, and to procure their general reception in the Church, with the suppression of all other gospels then extant." *The Church*, according

to Eichhorn, selected four gospels out of a multitude, and labored to procure their general reception in *the Church*. In order to understand this proposition, it is necessary to determine what must be the meaning of the word, Church. There was no organized universal Church, nor any thing resembling such an establishment, in existence, till long after the close of the second century. There was no single ecclesiastical government, which extended over Christians, or over a majority of Christians, or over any considerable portion of their number. They had no regular modes of acting in concert ; nor any effectual means whatever of combining together for a common purpose. Neither the whole body, nor a majority of Christians, ever met by delegation to devise common measures. Such an event did not take place till a hundred and twenty years after the end of the second century ; when Christianity had become the established religion of the Roman empire, and the first general council, that of Nice, was called together by the emperor Constantine. At the time of which we are speaking, Christians were spread over the world from the Euphrates to the Pillars of Hercules. They were disturbed and unsettled by frequent cruel persecutions, one of which, that under Severus,

was at its height, just about the commencement of the third century. They were obliged, during these persecutions, to conceal their sacred books, in order to preserve them from destruction. They were separated from each other by a difficulty and consequent infrequency of communication, of which, such are the facilities that now exist, we can hardly form a just notion. They were kept asunder by difference of language ; some speaking the Greek, some the Latin, and others, different languages and dialects of the East. Exclusively of those generally considered as heretics, they were disunited and alienated from each other by differences of religious opinion, and even by violent controversies ; for it was before the end of the second century, that Victor, Bishop of Rome, had excommunicated all the Eastern churches. This being the state of Christians, at the end of the second century, the proposition on which I am remarking, supposes, that they corresponded one with another, and came to an agreement to select four out of the many manuscript gospels then in existence, all of which had been exposed to the license of transcribers. Of these four, no traces are to be discovered before that time ; but it was determined to adopt them for common use, to the prejudice, it would seem, of

others longer known, and to which different portions of Christians had respectively been accustomed. There was a universal and silent compliance with this proposal. Copies of the four new manuscripts, and translations of them, were at once circulated through the world. All others ceased to be transcribed, and suddenly disappeared from common notice. Copiers were at the same time checked in their former practice of licentious alteration. Thus a revolution was effected in regard to the most important sacred books of Christians, and at the same time better habits were introduced among the transcribers of these books.

I believe it will be seen, that I have stated nothing, but what the supposition, we are considering, necessarily implies. But when we divest it of its looseness and ambiguity of language, and state clearly the details which it must embrace, no one can suppose that any such series of events took place at the end of the second century. It is intrinsically incredible; but, if this were not the case, we might urge against it the fact, that there is no record, nor any trace of it. It is supposed that a change was effected in the sacred books of Christians, spread abroad, as they were, throughout the civilized world. Any change of this

sort could not be effected without great difficulty, under the most favourable circumstances. Let us consider for a moment what an effort would be required, and what resistance must be overcome, in order to bring into general use among a single nation of Christians at the present day, not other gospels, but simply a new and better translation of our present Gospels. In the case under consideration, allowing the supposed change to have been possible, it must have met with great opposition; it must have provoked much discussion; it must have been the result of much deliberation; there must have been a great deal written about it at the time; it must have been often referred to afterwards, especially in the religious controversies which took place; it would have been one of the most important events in the history of Christians; and the account of the transaction must have been preserved. There would have been distinct memorials of it every where, in contemporary and subsequent writings. That there are no traces of it whatever, is alone conclusive evidence that it never took place.

2 But we may even put out of view all the preceding considerations. "The Church," it is said, "about the end of the second, and the beginning of the third century, first labored to procure the

general reception of the four Gospels in the Church." By the Church, must be meant the great body of Christians. The general reception of the Gospels was founded upon the belief, real or pretended, of their being the genuine works of those to whom they were ascribed. The statement, therefore, resolves itself into the following dilemma. Either the great body of Christians determined to believe what they knew to be false; or they determined to profess to believe it. The first proposition is an absurdity in terms; the last is a moral absurdity.

There is, then, no ground for the supposition of any interposition of authority, or of any concert among Christians, at the end of the second century, to select our present Gospels for common use; or, in other words, to select from the great number then in existence, four particular manuscripts, which should serve as archetypes for all subsequent transcribers, and the text of which should alone be considered as the authorized text. Our present agreement of authorities, which necessarily refers us back to one manuscript of each of the Gospels, as the archetype of all the copies of that Gospel, cannot thus be explained. We are left, therefore, to the obvious conclusion, which we adopt in regard to other writings, that this manuscript was the

original work of an individual author, which has been faithfully transmitted to us.*

* Eichhorn, in the second edition of his *Introduction to the New Testament* (Vol. I. p 684. seqq.), introduces a new section upon "the reception of the four Gospels for common use in the Church." Having for some time used the first edition of his work, I did not see this passage before writing what is found in the text. It suggests, however, no reason for any alteration; but may serve to confirm the correctness of the views which have been presented. The section preceding that just mentioned, treats of the "antiquity of the titles" of the first three Gospels. These titles, namely, *The Gospel according to Matthew*, *The Gospel according to Mark*, and *The Gospel according to Luke*, it is agreed, were not prefixed by the respective authors. On this subject, Eichhorn observes; "It cannot now be determined how early, or by whom, the Gospels were furnished with these titles. But we find traces of them in connexion with the first accounts of the Gospels. Hence it may be inferred, that the Church gave the preference to these over all other gospels, on account of their holding forth, in their titles, names of such weight, as those of an apostle and of two apostolic men; and put aside the others, because they did not lay claim to be the work of any particular author." In the new section, above referred to, he states, that about the time of Origen, "our four Gospels had manifestly triumphed over those before in use, in all the principal divisions of the Christian world; though from the want of any account of the contest, we are unable to explain the progress of their success. Theophilus gives us assurance of the respect in which they were held in Asia; Clement of Alexandria gives the same assurance for Egypt; Tertullian, for the west of Africa; Irenæus, for Rome; for though he was a bishop in Gaul, yet he habitually conformed himself to the Romish church, to which he ascribed the highest worth; and Rome, again, furnishes proof of the respect with which they were regarded in Greece; for the

The argument from the agreement of our present manuscript copies of the Gospels, seems alone to be decisive of the truth of the propo-

Greek churches commonly agreed in all points with that of Rome. The period immediately before the controversies respecting the heresy of the Montanists, and the time of keeping Easter, (which commenced shortly after the middle of the second century,) that is to say, the interval between the years 150 and 175, appears to be the fittest that can be assigned for the silent introduction of this unanimity of opinion, respecting those gospels which merited a preference above others; provided any cause can be pointed out, which might facilitate such a decision. And such a cause existed. The other gospels either did not bear the name of any author, or the individual names of their authors were not specified. On the contrary, our four Gospels were ascribed, two of them to apostles, Matthew and John, and two to apostolic men, worthy of all credit. Who, therefore, would not prefer these to all others? This circumstance, and the simplicity of their contents, recommended them generally; and so forcibly and distinctly, that, without any consultation or agreement, men were led to give them the preference. In the peaceable times of the Church, before a spirit of contradiction had been excited by polemical bitterness, they were thus silently, and in effect generally, preferred. Afterwards, distinguished writers of the Church, each in his own way, defended the choice, which had already been made."

There are but two remarks, which it seems important to make upon this passage. Eichhorn ascribes the general reception of the Gospels about the close of the second century, to the circumstance, that their present titles were prefixed to them at a somewhat earlier period. But this circumstance could have had no effect, except so far as it either produced a belief of their having been written by the authors to whom they were ascribed, or spread the knowledge of this fact. But if they were not written by their pretended authors, then the supposed

sition which it is brought to establish. But a similar mode of reasoning may be applied to the agreement between the very numerous manu-

circumstance, that some unknown transcriber, in the second century, prefixed the names of those individuals to a few manuscripts, must have been a cause, wholly inadequate to produce silently, without discussion, or concert, a general conviction throughout the Christian world, that the Gospels were the genuine works of those pretended authors. On the other hand, if they were written by the individuals to whom they were ascribed, this most important fact, whether mentioned in their titles or not, had undoubtedly been communicated and known, wherever the Gospels were known. The belief, therefore, or rather the knowledge of their genuineness, did not begin to produce its effects after the middle of the second century; but it had been always in operation, commencing simultaneously with the appearance of the works themselves. If they were genuine, then they had from the first been recognised as genuine; and had always held the high preeminence, which they subsequently maintained.

The other remark is, that the account here given by Eichhorn, of the general reception of the Gospels, leaves the hypothesis, respecting the corruptions and interpolations of transcribers, exposed without defence to the objection which has been urged against it. No cause is assigned, and consistently with this account, no cause can be assigned, that could have operated to bring forth a uniform text from the multitude of discordant and conflicting manuscripts, which, according to that hypothesis, must have existed.

I have thought it unnecessary to remark particularly upon the inconsistencies between the passages quoted in this note and those before adduced. I advert to them only for the purpose of observing, that the passages last mentioned remain in the second edition of Eichhorn's work as they stood in the first.

scripts of the Gospels, which were in existence at the end of the second century ; and as it was before this period, that transcribers are fancied to have taken the greatest liberties, it may be worth while to enter into the detail of this argument ; especially as it is connected with the proof of the antiquity of the Gospels.

Our present Gospels, it is conceded, were in common use among Christians about the end of the second century. The number of manuscripts then in existence bore some proportion to the number of Christians, and this, to the whole population of the Roman empire. The population of the Roman empire in the time of the Antonines is estimated by Gibbon at about one hundred and twenty millions ;* and, probably, it had not decreased at the period of which we are speaking. With regard to the proportion of Christians, the same writer observes ; “ The most favourable calculation will not permit us to imagine, that more than a twentieth part of the subjects of the empire had enlisted themselves under the banner of the cross before the important conversion of Constantine.”† If not more than a twentieth part of the empire was

* Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Ch. II.

† Ibid. Ch. XV.

Christian at the end of the third century, just after which the conversion of Constantine took place, we can hardly estimate more than a fortieth part of it as Christian, at the end of the second century. Yet this proportion seems irreconcilable with the language which we find used concerning the number of Christians. Just after the close of the first century, Pliny was sent by Trajan to govern the provinces of Pontus and Bithynia. While exercising his office, many accusations were brought to him against Christians; and he wrote to the emperor to consult him on the subject. "I have recourse," he says, "to you for advice; for it has appeared to me a subject proper to consult you about; especially on account of the number of those against whom accusations are brought. For many of all ages, of every rank, and of both sexes likewise, have been and will be accused. The contagion of this superstition has made its way not in cities only, but in the lesser towns also, and in the open country. It seems to me that it may be stopped and corrected. It is certain that the temples, which were almost deserted, begin to be frequented; and the sacred solemnities are revived after a long intermission. Victims likewise are every where sold, of which, till lately, there were but few purcha-

serts.”* There is no reason to suppose that Christians were more numerous in Pontus and Bithynia, than in any other part of Asia Minor, or in Macedonia, or in Greece. Yet if we suppose them to have constituted but a fortieth, or even a twentieth part of the inhabitants, there would be an extravagance in the statements of Pliny, not to be expected in an official letter, written for the purpose of affording facts to the emperor, on which to found specific directions. I pass over much other evidence with respect to the number of Christians;† and will quote only one or two passages from Tertullian, who wrote at the particular period, which we are considering, about the year 200. In speaking of the submission of Christians to the civil authority by which they were persecuted, he remarks, that it may clearly appear to be the result of the patience taught them by their religion; “considering,” he says, “that we, so great a multitude of men, almost the majority of every city, pass our lives silently, and modestly, more known, perhaps, as individuals, than as a body, and to be recognised only by our reformation from ancient vices.”‡ Again, in addressing

* Plinii Epist. Lib. X. Epist. 97.

† See Paley's Evidences of Christianity. Part II. c. ix.

‡ Ad Scapulam. § 2.

those who governed the Roman empire, he says; "We are but of yesterday, and we have filled every thing that is yours, cities, islands, castles, free towns, council-halls, the very camps, all classes of men, the palace, the senate, the forum. We have left you nothing but your temples. We can number your armies; there are more Christians in a single province. Even if unequal in force, is there any war for which we, who so readily submit to death, should not be prepared, or not prompt, if our religion did not teach us rather to be slain, than to slay. Unarmed and without rebellion, should we only separate from you, we might thus fight against you, by inflicting the injury which you would suffer from the divorce. If we, such a multitude of men, were to break away from you, retiring into some remote corner of the world, your government would be covered with shame at the loss of so many citizens, whoever they might be. The very desertion would punish you. Without doubt you would be terrified at your solitude; at the silence and stupor of all things, as if the world were dead. You would have to look about for subjects."* This it may be said is

* *Apologeticus adversus Gentes.* § 37.

the language of exaggeration ; unquestionably it is so. But Tertullian was a writer of far too much acuteness, and too much real eloquence, to suffer the boldness and vehemence of his language to pass those limits, beyond which their only effect must have been to expose him to derision. The very passage which I have quoted shows, that he was a man of no ordinary mind. But as far as its exaggeration is concerned, the most unwise and most impudent of declaimers would not have so stated the number of Christians, if it did not amount to more than a fortieth part of the whole population of the empire —exclusively of those denominated heretics, who were few in comparison with catholic Christians. I accept, however, this proportion ; and only wish it to be well understood, that it is fairly within the truth ; probably falling very far short of it. The conclusion to be established admits of great wastefulness in the calculations leading to it. The fortieth part of one hundred and twenty millions, the estimated population of the empire, is three millions. There were Christians without the bounds of the empire, but I am willing to include those also in the number supposed. At the end of the second century, then, there were three millions of believers, using our present Gospels, regarding them with

the highest reverence, and anxious to obtain copies of them. Few possessions could have been more highly valued by a Christian than a copy of those books, which contained the history of the religion for which he was exposing himself to the severest sacrifices. Their cost, if he were able to defray it, must have been but a very trifling consideration. But a common copy of the Gospels was not a book of any great bulk or expense.* I shall not, therefore, I think, be

* That the cost of books in ancient times was not excessive, may appear, in part, from the circumstance, that Juvenal describes them as among the possessions of Codrus, whom he represents as extremely poor. They were a part of his *totum nihil*.

“Jamque vetus Græcos servabat cista libellos.”

Sat. III. 206.

But it is remarkable how little exact information is to be found respecting the cost of books in ancient times. “The prices,” says Arbuthnot, “which I find mentioned by the ancients, are for such as were manuscripts in our sense, that is, not published, and valuable for the rarity of them.” Martial, however, (Lib. I. Epig. 118.) states the cost of the first book of his Epigrams, or perhaps of the first and second (Lib. II. Epig. 93.), in an ornamented copy, *rasum pumice, purpurâque cultum*, at five denarii; which, taking silver as the standard of comparison, is equal to about seventy-two cents, American money. This was a book for the luxurious. A copy of any one of the Gospels might probably have been bought at a much cheaper rate in proportion to its size. The price of Martial’s thirteenth book, which contains far less matter than the first, but amounts to two hundred and seventy-two verses, he states to

charged with over estimating, if I suppose that there was one copy of the Gospels for every fifty Christians. Scattered over the world as they were, if the proportion of them to the heathens was no greater than has been assumed, fifty Christians would often be as many as were to be found in any one place, and often more; but we cannot suppose that there were many collections of Christians without a copy of the Gospels. Origen, upon quoting a passage from the New Testament, says that it is written not "in any rare books, read only by a few studious persons; but in those in the most common use."* In truth, there can be little doubt, that copies of the Gospels were owned by a large portion of Christians who had the

have been four sesterii; or if that were thought too much, two sesterii, which he says would still leave a profit to the bookseller. (Lib. XIII. Epig. 3.) Two sesterii were half a denarius, that is, about seven cents. We sometimes confound the state of things in the middle ages, when there was a great scarcity of books, with that which existed in the flourishing times of Greek and Roman literature. It would be a still greater mistake to suppose that the number of Greek manuscripts of the Gospels extant during that period in western Europe, where the Greek was almost an unknown tongue, affords any means of determining the number in existence, when the Greek was a living language, and a medium of communication throughout the civilized world.

* *Ἐν τοῖς δημοδυσίτοις.* Orig. cont. Cels. Lib. VII. § 37.

means of procuring them ; and in supposing only one copy of these books for every fifty Christians, the estimate is probably much within the truth. This proportion, however, will give us sixty thousand copies of the Gospels for three millions of Christians.

This number of copies may strike some who have never before made any estimate of the kind, as larger than was to be expected. But the following facts may serve to show that the calculation is not extravagant. In the latter part of the second century, a history of Christ was compiled by Tatian, professedly, as is commonly believed, from the four Gospels. Tatian was a heretic, and his work never obtained much reputation or currency. Eusebius, the historian of the Church, in the first half of the fourth century, is the earliest writer who mentions it. His acquaintance with books was extensive, yet he appears not to have examined it. At the present day, no copy of it is known to be in existence. Yet of this obscure work, Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus in the fifth century, says that he found two hundred copies in use, among Christian churches, which he removed, and supplied their place by copies of the Gospels.* It is probable that the churches to which

* Theodoret. Hæret. Fab. Lib. I. c. 20.

the examination of Theodoret extended, were those only of his own diocese, which he himself describes as but thinly peopled and poor.* We find, then, that in a single diocese, or at least in a comparatively small number of churches, there were two hundred copies of a book of suspicious credit and not in common use ; and we find too that the place of these was readily supplied by copies of the Gospels. This fact is one of those which may serve to show, that the estimate of the whole number of copies of the Gospels existing at the end of the second century, is far from being too great.

Again, in the Acts of the Apostles xix. 19, it is related, that of those who had become converts to Christianity in Ephesus and its neighbourhood, some had been addicted to the study of magic. After their conversion, they brought together their books, relating to this subject, to be burnt ; and the value of them is said to have been fifty thousand pieces of silver. If, as is probable, by "pieces of silver," is to be understood *cistophori*, a common Asiatic coin and money of account, the sum mentioned amounts to about four thousand two hundred and fifty dollars. Books of magic, whatever may be here

* Ejusdem Epist. 32. Vid. et Epist. 42.

intended by that name, would be sold at a high price. But we cannot reasonably suppose those works on magic to have been the larger portion of the books owned by the converts of Ephesus and its vicinity, at this early period. Such being the case, we may infer, that the number of copies of the Gospels, in use among Christians at the end of the second century, did not fall short of that which has been estimated, but probably far exceeded it.

There were, then, at the end of the second century, when it is agreed that the Gospels were in common use, at least sixty thousand copies of them dispersed over the world. These copies had not been subjected to the licentious alterations of transcribers. They agreed essentially with each other. This is implied in the fact, that they *were* copies of our present Gospels. It is made evident by the consideration, that if there had been important discrepancies among these sixty thousand copies, no series of events could either have destroyed the evidence of these discrepancies, or could have produced the present agreement among existing copies, derived, as they are, from those in use at the period in question. The agreement, then, at the end of the second century, between the numerous copies of the respective Gospels,

proves, that an archetype of each Gospel had been faithfully followed by transcribers. This archetype, as we have seen, there is no ground for imagining to have been any other, than the original work of the author of that Gospel. It follows, therefore, that, in the interval between the composition of these works and the end of the second century, their text did not suffer, as has been fancied, from the licentiousness of transcribers.

But it must have taken a long time, — I use an indefinite expression to which there can be no objection, leaving it to every one to fix such a period, as he may think most probable, — it must have taken a long time for the Gospels to obtain so established and extensive a reputation; to come into common use as sacred books among Christians throughout the civilized world; and for such a number of copies of them to be made. They must have been composed, therefore, a long time before the end of the second century; or rather, before the year 180, about which period Irenæus wrote, who asserts their general reception, and acknowledged authority, in as strong language as any Christian would use at the present day. It follows, then, from all that has been stated, that long before the latter part of the second century, our present Gospels

were composed by four different authors, whose works obtained general reception among Christians, as authentic histories and sacred books, and were everywhere spread and handed down, without any essential alterations from transcribers.

CHAPTER II.

ARGUMENTS DRAWN FROM OTHER CONSIDERATIONS.

BESIDE the argument already adduced, there are others, to which we will now advert.

I. It would have been inconsistent with the common sentiments and practice of mankind, for transcribers to make such alterations and additions as have been imagined, in the sacred books which they were copying. No one can be so dull as not to feel the importance and propriety of preserving the genuine text of books, which are regarded as works of authority, or as possessing a peculiar character in consequence of their having been composed by a particular author. In proportion as a work is of higher authority, this sentiment will be stronger. It would be idle to imagine, that the habit of making additions and alterations at will, which is attributed to the transcribers of the Gospels, was common in ancient times, and

practised in the transcription of other writings, the histories, for instance, of Thucydides or Tacitus. But with the great body of believers, the Gospels were peculiarly guarded from corruption ; and what we apprehend so little concerning other writings, is still less to be apprehended concerning them. The Christians of the first two centuries, it cannot be doubted, valued very highly their sacred books, and none more highly than those which contained records of the actions and discourses of Christ. But they valued them, as sacred books, and as authentic histories, and not as the patchwork of unknown transcribers. They would not, therefore, suffer them gradually to assume the latter character. They would not cause, or permit, alterations and additions to be silently introduced into books of history, the authenticity of which would be thus destroyed ; and sacred books, the peculiar character of which would in consequence be lost. To interpolate or alter any thing in books of the latter kind, has commonly been considered as a crime, bordering upon sacrilege. This sentiment may be counteracted in a certain degree ; but it is a very general, a very natural, and a very strong one. The care of any community in preserving their sacred books from corruption, will be proportioned

to the value, which they set upon those books ; and the degree in which they value them, will be proportioned to the interest which they feel in their religion. But no men ever felt that interest more strongly, than the Christians of the first two centuries. There is, therefore, as we might expect, abundant evidence extant in their writings, that they had as great reverence for the sacred books of our religion, and were as little disposed to make, or to suffer, an admixture of foreign matter with their genuine text, as Christians of the present day. I will quote a few passages in proof of this fact.

The first writer by whom any one of the Gospels is expressly mentioned, is Papias, who flourished about the beginning of the second century,* a contemporary of the disciples of the apostles. He speaks particularly of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, affirming that they were composed by those individuals ; and that the Gospel of Mark was a transcript of the oral narratives of Peter. He applies to them the ti-

* I shall, hereafter, have occasion to remark more particularly on the assertion of Eichhorn, that we find no traces of our first three Gospels before the end of the second century. It can be reconciled with undisputed facts, only by supposing that our present Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke have been so corrupted, as not to be essentially the same with those, which anciently bore their names.

tle of *oracles*.* The respect in which they were held, appears from this title, and from the authors to whom they were referred. Christians would neither corrupt such works, nor suffer them to be corrupted.

About the middle of the second century, Justin Martyr describes the histories of Christ which he used, as written by apostles and their companions,† by those whom Christians believed.‡ He says, that either these books, or the writings of the Jewish prophets, were read in Christian churches, on the first day of every week.§ He every where appeals to them as of undoubted authority. They were regarded by him, we may infer, as entitled to at least equal reverence with the Jewish scriptures. But in the dialogue which he represents himself as having held with Trypho, an unbelieving Jew, he charges the Jews with having expunged certain passages of the Old Testament, relating to Christ. To this, Trypho answers, that the charge seems to him incredible. Justin replies; “It does seem incredible; for to mutilate the scriptures would be a more fearful crime than

* Apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. c. 39.

† Dial. cum Tryph. p. 361. ed. Thirlb.

‡ Apolog. prim. p. 54.

§ Ibid. p. 97.

the worship of the golden calf, or than the sacrifice of children to demons, or than slaying the prophets themselves.”* It is not probable, that Christians were tampering with their own sacred books, at a time when they had such feelings respecting those of the Old Testament. The histories of Christ used by Justin, I shall hereafter show, were our present Gospels.

Some of the heretics, in the second century, made, or were charged with making, alterations in the Christian scriptures, in order to accommodate them to their own opinions. Of such corrupters of scripture, Dionysius, who was bishop of Corinth about the year 170, thus speaks ; “I have written epistles at the desire of the brethren. But the apostles of the devil have filled them with darnel, taking out some things, and adding others. Against such, a woe is denounced. It is not wonderful, therefore, that some have undertaken to corrupt the scriptures of the Lord, since they have corrupted writings not to be compared with them.”† The meaning of Dionysius is, that, the persons spoken of having shown their readiness to commit such a crime, it was not strange that

* Dial. cum Tryph. p. 296.

† Apud Euseb. H. E. Lib. IV. c. 23.

they should even corrupt the Scriptures ; these being works of much higher authority than his epistles, and from the falsification of which, more advantage was to be gained. We perceive how strongly he expresses his sense of the guilt of such corruption ; a sentiment, common, without doubt, to a great majority of Christians. When Dionysius wrote, it clearly could not have been esteemed innocent, and a matter of indifference, for transcribers to make intentional alterations in their copies of the Gospels. Yet this is one of the passages which have been adduced to show that such was their common practice.* But as we have no reason to doubt that the prevailing sentiment was that which Dionysius has expressed, we may confidently infer, that Christians did not generally practise or permit, what was esteemed a work of ‘ the apostles of the devil,’ and one, ‘ against which a woe was denounced.’

“ We have not received,” says his contemporary, Irenæus, “ the knowledge of the way of our salvation by any others than those, through whom the Gospel has come down to us ; which Gospel they first preached, and afterwards, by the will of God, transmitted to us in writing,

* See the quotation from Eichhorn, p. 14.

that it might be the foundation and pillar of our faith.”* He immediately proceeds to speak particularly of the composition of the four Gospels, referring them to the authors to whom they are commonly ascribed. These books he afterwards represents as the most important books of scripture; † and the scriptures he calls “oracles of God.” ‡ “We know,” he says, “that the scriptures are perfect, as dictated by the Logos of God, and his spirit.” §

Such passages show the reverence in which the scriptures were held, and the feelings with which any corruption of them must have been regarded. They are, likewise, irreconcilable with the supposition, that the Gospels had but just appeared in their present form; and that, previously, those who possessed copies of these books had regarded them only ‘as an article of private property, in which any alterations were allowable.’ || If the Gospels had been partly the work of unknown transcribers, the fact must have been notorious; and no writer of whatever character would have ventured to use such language as that of Irenæus.

* Cont. Heres. Lib. III. c. 1.

† Ib. Lib. III. c. 11. § 8.

‡ Ib. Lib. I. c. 8. § 1.

§ Ib. Lib. II. c. 28. § 2.

|| See p. 14.

Clement of Alexandria, his contemporary, calls the scriptures divinely inspired,* and holy books.† He speaks of the four Gospels, in contradistinction from all other accounts of Christ, as having been handed down to the Christians of his age;‡ and he gives an account of the order of succession in which they were composed; saying that this account was derived from the presbyters of former times.§

Tertullian manifests the same reverence for the scriptures, and especially for the Gospels, as his contemporaries, Irenæus and Clement. He, like them, quotes the Gospels as works of decisive authority, in the same manner as any modern theologian might do. He wrote much against the heretic Marcion, whom he charges with having rejected the other Gospels, and having mutilated the Gospel of St. Luke, to conform it to his system. This leads him to make some statements which have a direct bearing upon the present subject. "I affirm," says Tertullian, "that not only in the churches, founded by apostles, but in all which have fellowship with them, *that* Gospel of Luke, which we so steadfastly defend, has been received from its first

* Stromat. Lib. VII. p. 761. † Pædagog. Lib. III. p. 264.

‡ Stromat. Lib. III. p. 465.

§ Apud Euseb. H. E. Lib. VI. c. 14.

publication.” “The same authority,” he adds, “of the apostolic churches will support the other Gospels, which, in like manner, we have from them, conformably to their copies.”* “They,” he says, “who were resolved to teach otherwise than the truth, were under a necessity of new-modelling the records of the doctrine.” “As they could not have succeeded in corrupting the doctrine without corrupting its records; so we could not have preserved the doctrine in its integrity, but by preserving the integrity of its records.”†

I quote only a few short passages from Christian writers, and those which have the most immediate relation to my present purpose; because I shall, hereafter, have occasion to show, more at length, the general reception of the Gospels, and the reverence in which they were held, at the end of the second century. The following is from an anonymous writer against the heresy of Artemon. He accuses those who maintained this heresy of corrupting the scriptures, and adds; “How daring a crime this is, they can hardly be ignorant. For either they do not believe that the divine scriptures

* Advers. Marcion. Lib. IV. §. 5.

† De Præscript. Hæret. § 38.

were dictated by the Holy Spirit; and then they are infidels; or they believe themselves wiser than the Holy Spirit; and what are they, then, but madmen?"* Origen, in like manner, regarded the scriptures as dictated by the Holy Spirit. He has many passages which correspond to the following, from one of his commentaries. "After this Mark says [x. 50.], *And he, casting away his garment, leaped and came to Jesus.* Did the evangelist write without thought, when he related that the man cast away his garment, and leaped, and came to Jesus? Or shall we dare to say, that this was inserted in the Gospel without purpose? I believe that not one jot or one tittle of the divine instructions is without purpose."†

In commenting upon Matthew xix. 19. Origen suspects, for reasons which it is unnecessary to state, the genuineness of the words, *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself*; but he says, that if it were not for the number of various readings found in different copies of the Gospels, one might seem impious in suspecting these words to have been inserted, without their having been uttered by the Saviour.‡

* Apud Euseb. H. E. Lib. V. c. 28.

† Comment. in Matth. Tom. xvi. § 12. Opp. III. 734.

‡ Comment. in Matth. Tom. xv. § 14. Opp. III. 671.

The passages quoted show the state of opinion and feeling among Christians, during the first two centuries. They have been alleged to prove nothing in itself improbable ; but, on the contrary, the existence of sentiments, which it is incredible should not have existed. But it is clear that those who entertained them, would neither make nor permit intentional alterations in the Gospels.

II. About the close of the second century, different Christian writers express strong censure of the mutilations and changes, which they charge some heretics, and particularly Marcion, with having made in the Gospels, and other books of the New Testament. Some passages to this effect have been quoted. It is unnecessary to adduce others ; because the fact is well known and universally admitted. The feeling expressed by those writers was common without doubt to Christians generally. But they could not have felt, or have expressed themselves, as they did, if their own Gospels, the catholic Gospels, had been left, as is imagined, at the mercy of transcribers ; and there had been such a disagreement, as must in consequence have existed, among different copies of those Gospels. What text of their own would they have had to oppose to the text of Marcion, or of any other

heretic? What would they have had to bring forward, but a collection of discordant manuscripts, many of them, probably, differing as much from each other, as the altered gospels of the heretics did from any one of them? If our Gospels had not existed in their present form, till the close of the second century; if before that time, their text had been fluctuating, and assuming in different copies a different form, such as transcribers might choose to give it; those by whom they were used, could not have ventured to speak with such confidence of the alterations of the heretics. They must have apprehended too strongly the overwhelming retort, to which they lay so exposed, and against which they were so defenceless. If, however, any one can imagine that they really would have been bold enough to make the charges which they do against heretics, yet, in this case, they must, at least, have shown strong solicitude to guard the point, where they themselves were so liable to attack. But no trace of such solicitude appears.

III. We happen to have, in the works of a single writer, decisive evidence, that no such differences ever existed in the manuscripts of the Gospels, as are supposed in the hypothesis under consideration; and consequently that no

such liberties, as have been imagined, were ever taken by their transcribers. Origen was born about the year 185; and flourished during the first half of the third century. He was particularly skilled in the criticism of the scriptures. His labors upon the text of the Septuagint are well known; and it has been supposed with some probability, that copies of the New Testament were written under his critical inspection. He had in his possession, or had the means of consulting, various manuscripts of the Gospels, of which he made a critical use, noticing their various readings. His notices are principally found in commentaries, which he wrote on the Gospels. Under these circumstances, if the manuscripts of the first and second centuries had differed from each other as much as has been imagined, we should expect to find distinct evidence of the fact in the voluminous writings of this early father. But this is not the case. On the contrary, the language which he uses, and the kind of various readings which he actually adduces, prove that he was ignorant of any such diversities as have been fancied. But he could not have been ignorant of them, if they had existed. I give in a note, at the end of this volume,* all the various read-

* See Additional Note, B.

ings which he mentions, so far as I have been able to collect them. They are all unimportant variations. The greater part of them are still extant in our manuscripts. He remarks upon no such diversities as must have existed, if transcribers had indulged in such licentious alterations as have been supposed. On the contrary, the citations and remarks of Origen are adapted to produce a conviction, that the manuscripts of his time differed, to say the least, as little from each other, as the manuscripts now extant; and consequently that before his time, there was at least as much care to preserve the original text, as there has been since.

This conviction is not weakened by a passage in his writings, which may seem at first view to favor the opposite opinion. The passage has been already referred to, in this chapter, for the purpose of proving the reverence in which the Gospels were held;* but we will now attend to it a little more particularly. Origen, as has been said, was led, by a course of reasoning of considerable subtilty, to doubt the genuineness of the words, Matthew xix. 19. *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself*. After stating his argu-

* See p. 66.

ments at some length, he says ; “ But if it were not, that in many other passages, there is a difference among copies, so that all those of the Gospel of Matthew do not agree together, and so also as it regards the other Gospels ; it might seem impious in any one,* to suspect the precept of having been inserted here, without its having been mentioned by the Saviour. But it is evident that there exists much difference among copies ; partly from the carelessness of some transcribers ; partly from the rashness of others in altering improperly what they find written ; and partly from those revisers who strike out or add according to their own judgment.”† He immediately subjoins that he had provided a remedy for such errors in the copies of the Septuagint, by giving a new critical edition of it.

* Κἄν ἀσεβὴς τις ᾔδειν εἶναι, κ. τ. λ.

† Νοτὶ δὲ δηλοῦνται πολλὰ γίγναι ἢ τῶν ἀντιγραφῶν διαφορὰ, εἴτε ἀπὸ βουλῆς τινῶν γραφῶν, εἴτε ἀπὸ σίλῃς τινῶν, μολιθεῖς τῆς [lege τι διαφορᾶς τῶν γραφῶν, εἴτε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ ἑαυτοῖς δεκόντων, ἢ τῇ διαφορᾷ προσκρίνεται ἡ ἀφαιρούμενη. Comment. in Matth. Tom. xv. § 14. Opp. III. 671. The passage has been sometimes misunderstood, as having reference to the intentional corruptions of the heretics. But *διαφῶ* and its derivatives are technical words, used respecting the correction of manuscripts after transcription, for the purpose of removing the errors of the transcriber. The words used in speaking of intentional corruption are *βυβλοσργῶ* and its relatives.

✓ In this passage, nothing is referred to but well known, common causes of error in the transcription of manuscripts. We learn from it, that transcribers were sometimes careless; that they sometimes improperly altered from conjecture a reading in the copy before them, which they fancied to be erroneous; and that those whose business it was to revise manuscripts after transcription, for the purpose of correcting errors, did sometimes, in the want of proper critical apparatus, rely too much upon their mere judgment concerning what was probably the true text. These are all propositions, which we might credit without the testimony of Origen. His language in speaking of the difference among the manuscripts of the Gospels, though he had a particular purpose in representing it as considerable, is much less strong than what has been used by some modern critics, and among them Griesbach himself, in speaking of the disagreement among our present copies. The expressions of the latter, as one may easily satisfy himself, are very loose and exaggerated.* If they had

* Griesbach, for instance, says (in the *Prolegomena* to his *New Testament*, Sect. III.), that the text of the New Testament used by Clement of Alexandria and Origen (the Alexandrine text), differed from that used by Tertullian and Cyprian (the

been found in Origen, it might have been difficult to believe, that the agreement among the copies of the Gospels existing in his time, was

Western text), "in its whole conformation and entire coloring," *toto suo habitu universoque colore*. According to him, if we take the quotations of Origen and Clement, certain manuscripts, and certain other authorities, all of which he classes together as Alexandrine, and settle the text of the New Testament from them alone, this text will differ in its whole aspect, from that which may be formed, by a similar process, from the quotations of Tertullian and Cyprian, and the other authorities which, according to him, belong to the Western class. All that seems necessary to enable one acquainted with the subject, to perceive the extravagance of Griesbach's language, is to have his attention directed to it. It is inconsistent with his own statements elsewhere, and with indisputable facts. Some further remarks upon the looseness with which Griesbach has expressed himself in several instances, and upon his theory respecting different revisions of the text of the New Testament, may be found in the Additional Note marked A, which forms a sort of appendix to the First Part of the present work.

The assertion of Griesbach above quoted is made by him in a merely critical essay, in which any thing like exaggeration was least to be expected. If an assertion of a similar kind had been found in any work, however declamatory, of a writer of the first three centuries, the circumstance might have seemed embarrassing, as respects the present argument. We should, however, have been equally justified in regarding such language as highly extravagant in the one case as in the other. I advert to these facts in order to illustrate a principle of considerable importance, that single passages from a particular writer are often of very little weight or importance, when opposed to a conclusion resting upon strong probabilities. Many writers, who have no intention of deceiving, are far from being accurate and attentive in estimating the meaning and force of their words.

really as great, as we know it to be among those extant at the present day. His language, such as it is, affords no ground for a contrary supposition.

But the passage before us deserves further attention in several points of view. In the first place, it goes to prove, as has been remarked, the reverence with which the Gospels were regarded. In the next place, it shows the importance, which the most eminent Christian writer of his age attached to the *proposal* of omitting a few words in the text of St. Matthew. But this renders incredible the supposition, that it had been common for the possessors and transcribers of manuscripts to make intentional changes in the text of the Gospels. The passage shows the prevalence of a sentiment wholly inconsistent with the disposition to make such changes; and, what is still more perhaps, the prevalence of a belief in the genuineness of their text, which could not have existed if such changes had been common. This sentiment and belief are further exhibited in another passage of Origen, where, comparing the prediction of our Saviour, *The son of man shall be three days and three nights in the earth*, with his declaration to the penitent robber, *This night thou shalt be with me in Paradise*,

he says, that 'some have been so troubled with the seeming inconsistency as to venture to suspect the latter words of being an interpolation.'* But further, the passage before us shows, that Origen did not regard the Gospels as having been exposed to any other causes of error, than those common in the transcription of manuscripts, such, for instance, as had operated, and without doubt much more extensively, in the copies of the Septuagint. And lastly, the language of this passage affords proof, if such proof be needed, that Origen had no disposition to keep out of view, or to extenuate, the differences between the copies of the Gospels extant in his time. We may, therefore, be satisfied that none of more importance existed, than what we find noticed by him. It appears, then, that Origen thought the diversities of manuscripts a subject deserving particular attention; that he was rather disposed to complain of the carelessness and rashness of transcribers and revisers, and to exaggerate the discrepancies which had been thus produced; and yet that he never mentions the existence of any more important differences among the copies of the Gospels, extant in his time, than such various readings as

* *Ὅτι πολλοὶ αὐτοὺς ἀποκρίναι, κ. τ. λ.* Comment. in Joan. Tom. xxxii. § 19. Opp. IV. 455.

are found in our present manuscripts. He was ignorant, therefore, of any such differences as are supposed in the hypothesis under consideration. But, if unknown to him, they were unknown to other Christians at the time when Origen lived, that is, during the first half of the third century. They, therefore, did not exist in the manuscripts of this period. But we, at the present day, have manuscripts of the Gospels written at least twelve hundred years since; and at the beginning of the third century, a large portion of all the copies which had ever been made, was probably in existence; some, written in the earliest times, and others in succession during the interval. The oldest manuscripts would be sought for by Origen, and other critics contemporary with him; as they have been by every critic since his time. The manuscripts of a later date extant in his age, were transcripts of others more ancient, and must have perpetuated their discrepancies. (But no important discrepancies were known to Origen; they were not found either in earlier or later copies, extant in his age; and it is but little more than stating the same thing in other words, to say that they never had existed.

IV. We may reason in a similar manner from all the notices in ancient writers, relating to the

text of the Gospels. These notices show, that no greater difference existed among the manuscripts of the Gospels in their day, than exists at present. We may even draw a strong argument from their silence. The fathers mention, either as true or false, or as extant, a very few narratives respecting our Saviour, generally fabulous, and quote, as uttered by him, a few sayings, some perhaps genuine, which are not found in the Gospels,* but were preserved in some other ancient writings, or by tradition. The manner in which these are noticed by the fathers, is sufficient to prove, that if there had been any similar narratives or sayings in some copies of the Gospels, not found in the generality, we should have information of it in their works. But, on the contrary, nothing can be alleged from their writings to prove any greater difference among the copies extant in their time, than what is found among those which we now possess. The silence of the fathers proves that there was a similar agreement.

V. When we examine the Gospels themselves, there is nothing which discovers marks of their

* These sayings may be found collected in the "Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti" of Fabricius, or in Jones's "New and Full Method of Settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament."

having been subjected to such a process of interpolation as has been imagined. On the contrary, there is evidence which seems decisive, that each is the work of an individual, which has been preserved as it was written by him. The dialect, the style, and the modes of narration in the Gospels, generally, have a very marked and peculiar character. Each Gospel, also, is distinguished from the others, by individual peculiarities in the use of language, and other characteristics exclusively its own. Any one familiar with the originals, perceives, for instance, that Mark is a writer, less acquainted with the Greek language than Luke, and having less command of proper expression. His style is, in consequence, more affected by the idiom of the Hebrew, more harsh, more unformed, more barbarous, in the technical sense of that word. If you were to transfer into Luke's Gospel a chapter from that of Mark, every critic would at once perceive its dissimilitude to the general style of the former. The difference would be still more remarkable, if you were to insert a portion from Mark in John's Gospel. But the very distinctive character of the style of the Gospels generally, and the peculiar character of each Gospel, are irreconcilable with the notion, that they have been brought to their present state by additions and

alterations of successive copiers. A diversity of hands would have produced in each Gospel a diversity of style and character. Instead of the uniformity that now appears, the modes of conception and expression would have been inconsistent and vacillating. We are able to give a remarkable exemplification and proof of this fact. With the exception of a few short passages which have been transferred from one Gospel to another, of the doxology at the end of our Lord's prayer in Matthew, and of the story of the woman taken in adultery, as inserted in a very few modern manuscripts at the end of the twenty-first chapter of Luke, there have been found but three undisputed interpolations of any considerable length among all the Greek manuscripts of the Gospels; and every one of the three betrays itself to be spurious by its internal character, — by a style of thought and language, clearly different from that which characterizes the Gospel in which it has been introduced.* This is not a matter of fancy. It is a point which no critic will dispute. If, then, our present Gospels had been the result of successive additions, made by different hands to a

* See Additional Note, C.

common basis, there would have been a marked diversity of style in different portions of the same Gospel ; so that these works would have been very unlike what they now are. We should have perceived clear traces of different writers, having greater or less command of expression, accustomed to a different use of language, and viewing the history of Christ under different aspects and with different feelings.

It is true, that in the passage, commencing with the fifth verse of the first chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, and extending to the end of the second chapter, there is an observable dissimilarity between the language, and that of the remainder of his Gospel ; so that it forms an exception to the general remarks which have just been made. This circumstance has given occasion for supposing it to be an interpolation. But the true account seems to be, that this passage was a short narrative, in existence before the work of the evangelist, which he incorporated with his Gospel ; that, if he found it extant in Greek, he did not essentially modify the style ; and if in Hebrew, that his translation was literal, and affected throughout by the idiom of the original. The events recorded in this portion of his Gospel, having taken place, as we believe, about

sixty years before he wrote, the supposition is in itself probable ; and it explains the character of this particular passage, without affecting the force of the preceding reasoning. On the contrary, this is strengthened by the circumstance, that where an exception occurs, we can assign a special and probable cause for it. It may be observed, further, that our being able to perceive so much difference between the language of this portion of St. Luke's Gospel, and that of the remainder, shows the general uniformity and marked character of St. Luke's style.

Upon the hypothesis under consideration, it is as probable that the stories collected by various transcribers, would have been added to St. John's Gospel, as to any one of the other Gospels. By comparing his Gospel with the other three, we perceive that there were many narratives concerning Christ in existence, which are not contained in the former, and which would have afforded an abundant harvest for an interpolator. But it is obvious that no such additions have been made to St. John's Gospel, as are supposed to have been commonly made to the histories of Christ. The modes of thinking, and the style, are uniform throughout, and very marked and distinguishable. It may be separated

into a few long divisions, each of which is closely connected within itself; and it contains scarcely any of those short narratives in the style of the other Gospels, among which we must look for the additions, which transcribers are supposed to have made to the latter. Such being the facts, it is impossible to believe that this Gospel has ever been essentially corrupted by additions from its copiers. But if this Gospel, equally exposed to corruption with any one of the other three, has not thus suffered from transcribers, we may infer that the same is true of the other three Gospels.

VI. There is also another ground on which we infer from the uniformity of style in the several Gospels, and the peculiar character of this style, that they have not been interpolated. The Gospels are written in Hellenistic Greek, a dialect, used by Jews imperfectly acquainted with the Greek language, and intimately affected, in consequence, by the influence of the Hebrew. A native Greek could not have written in this dialect, if he would, without having made it a particular study. Now it is through the Gentile branch of the early converts, that Christianity and the Gospels have been transmitted to us. But we know from the New Testament, that in the very beginning there were strong tendencies to schism between the Jewish and

Gentile converts. After the death of the apostles, and the destruction of Jerusalem, the former, generally speaking, separated themselves more and more from the latter; they remained strongly attached to their law; they were reputed heretics; they seem to have made little or no use of the books which constitute the New Testament, with the exception of the Gospel of Matthew; and, at last, after four or five centuries they disappear from our view. It would be a very improbable supposition, that any considerable number of the copies of the Gospels used by Gentile Christians, were made by Jewish transcribers, or interpolated by Jews. It is not to such copies that we can trace back the lineage of our own. Only a portion of the Jews were acquainted with the Greek language as written; and very few, it is probable, exercised the trade of transcribers in that language. Origen, in attempting to explain the cause of a supposed error, which he believed to have arisen from ignorance of the Hebrew, speaks of the Gospels as having been continually transcribed by Greeks, unacquainted with that language.* But the Gospels are throughout written in Hel-

* Ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων συνεχῶς γραφόμενα τὰ εὐαγγέλια μὴ ἰδόντων τὸν διάλεκτον. Comment. in Matth. Tom. xvi. § 19. Opp. III. 748.

lenistic Greek. Whatever interpolations may be fancied to exist, they do not discover themselves by being written in pure and common Greek. These fancied interpolations, however, are supposed to have been made by a series of transcribers. But these transcribers, as we have seen, must, generally, have been Gentiles; and Gentiles would hardly have interpolated in Hebrew-Greek; or to say the least, would hardly have interpolated in Hebrew-Greek so uniformly, that we should not be able to trace any considerable departure from this dialect.

VII. In those cases in which we have good reason to suspect an ancient writing of being spurious altogether, or of having received spurious additions, the fact is almost always betrayed by something in the character of the writing itself. Spurious works, and interpolations in genuine works, are discovered, for instance, by something not congruous to the character of the pretended author; by a style different from that of his genuine writings; by the expression of opinions and feelings which it is improbable that he entertained; by discovering an ignorance of facts with which he must have been acquainted; by a use of language and the introduction of modes of conception,

not known at the period to which they are assigned; by an implied reference to opinions, events, or even books of a later age; or by some bearing and purpose, not consistent with the time when they are pretended to have been written. Traces of the times when they were really composed are almost always apparent. This must have been the case with the Gospels, if they had been conformed, as has been imagined, to the traditions and doctrines of the church in the second century. But, putting this notion out of view, we should have perceived distinct traces of a later age than the period assigned for their composition, if they had been subjected to alterations and additions from different editors and transcribers, with different views and feelings, and more or less interested and excited about the opinions and controversies which had sprung up in their own times. But no traces of a later age than that which we assign for their composition appear in the Gospels. He who fairly examines the scanty list of passages which have been produced, as giving some countenance to an opposite opinion, may fully satisfy himself of the correctness of this assertion. I will quote in proof of it a passage from Eichhorn, which I am unable to reconcile with the statements be-

fore adduced from him, and with other parts of his writings ; but which, evidently, derives additional weight from this inconsistency. In his section "on the credibility" of the Gospels, after mentioning by name Matthew, Mark, and Luke, as the authors of the first three, he thus proceeds ; "Every thing in their narratives corresponds to the age in which they lived and wrote, and to the circumstances in which we must believe them to have been placed,—an unanswerable proof of their credibility. No one has yet appeared, who, in this respect, has convicted them of want of truth ; and until this be done by satisfactory evidence, their credibility may be confidently maintained."* If, then, the Gospels do not bear the impression of later times, but correspond in their character to the age in which we believe them to have been written, this must be regarded as a strong proof, that they are genuine, uncorrupted works of that age.

VIII. The character and actions of Jesus Christ, as exhibited in the Gospels, are peculiar and extraordinary beyond all example. They distinguish him, in a most remarkable manner, from all other men. They display the highest

* Einleit. in d. N. T. I. 639.

moral sublimity. We perceive, throughout, an ultimate purpose of the most extensive benevolence. But this character of Christ, which appears in the Gospels, is exhibited with perfect consistency. Whatever he is represented as saying or doing corresponds to the fact or the conception,—call it which we will,—that he was a teacher sent from God, endued with the highest powers, and entrusted with the most important office, ever exercised upon earth. The different parts of each Gospel harmonize together. Now let any one consider, how unlikely it is that we should have found this consistency in the representation of Christ, if the Gospels had been in great part the work of inconsiderate or presumptuous copiers; or if they had consisted, in great part, of a collection of traditionary stories; and especially if these stories had been, as some have imagined, either fabulous accounts of miracles, or narratives having a foundation in truth, but corresponding so little to the real fact, as to have assumed a miraculous character, which there was nothing in the fact itself to justify. It is incredible, that under such circumstances there should be the consistency which now appears in the Gospels. On the contrary, we might expect to find in them stories of a kind similar to those

extant in certain writings, that have been called apocryphal gospels ; which betray their falsehood at first view, by their incongruity with the character and actions of our Saviour, as displayed by the evangelists. We shall have occasion to notice them somewhat more particularly hereafter. Every one acquainted with the stories referred to, must perceive and acknowledge their striking dissimilitude to the narratives of the Gospels. A dissimilitude of the same kind would have existed between different parts of the Gospels, if they had grown, as has been imagined, to their present form, by a gradual contribution of traditional tales. On the contrary, their consistency in the representation of our Saviour is one among the many proofs, that they have been preserved essentially as they were first written.

We have seen, then, in the present chapter, that there is no reason to doubt, that the Christians of the first two centuries had the highest reverence for their sacred books ; and that, with this sentiment, they could neither have made, nor have suffered, alterations in the Gospels ;—that the manner in which the Christian fathers speak of the corruptions with which they charged some of the heretics, implies, from the

nature of the case, that they knew of no similar corruptions in their own copies of the Gospels ; — that from the notice which Origen takes of the various readings found by him in his manuscripts of the Gospels, we may conclude, that no considerable diversity among the manuscripts of the Gospels had ever existed ; — that we may infer the same from all the other notices respecting the text of the Gospels in the writings of the fathers ; and from the absence of any thing in their works, which might show, that their copies differed more from each other, than those now extant ; — that the peculiar style of the Gospels generally, and the uniform style of each Gospel, afford proof that each is, essentially, the work of one author, which has been preserved unaltered ; — that this argument becomes more striking, when we consider, that far the greater number of the copies of the Gospels, during the first two centuries, were made by Greek transcribers, who, if they had interpolated, would have interpolated in common Greek ; that it is from copies made by them that our own are derived ; but that the Gospels, as we possess them, are written, throughout, in that dialect of the Greek, which was used only by Jews ; — that spurious works, or spurious additions to genuine works, may commonly be discovered

by some incongruity with the character or the circumstances of the pretended author, or with the age to which they are assigned ; but that with the exception, perhaps, of a few passages, the genuineness of which is doubtful, no such incongruity appears in the Gospels ; — and, lastly, that the consistency preserved throughout each of the Gospels in all that relates to the actions, discourses, and most extraordinary character of Christ, shows that each is a work which remains the same essentially as it was originally written, uncorrupted by subsequent alterations or additions.

It has, indeed, been already remarked, that the Gospel of St. Matthew was, probably, written in Hebrew ; and that we possess only a Greek translation. So far, therefore, as regards this Gospel, a part of the arguments adduced, especially those in the first chapter, apply directly only to prove the uncorrupt preservation of the Greek copy. But I am not aware of any considerations that may lead us to suspect, that the Greek is not a faithful rendering from the Hebrew copy or copies used by the translator ; or that the exemplar he followed did not essentially correspond with the original. On the con-

trary, there seems no reasonable ground for doubt respecting either proposition.

It is true, that the three additions before suggested, may have been made to the Hebrew text used by the translator ; and, possibly, the liability to those accidents, that attend the transcription of books, was increased in the case of Matthew's Gospel by a more than ordinary want of skill and judgment in some of its Hebrew copyists ; for the transcription of books cannot be supposed to have been an art much practised among the native Jews of Palestine. But the causes of error in the text used by Matthew's translator, could have operated but a short time, since we cannot suppose the interval between the composition and translation of the Gospel to have been more than about fifty years.

In regard to licentious and intentional additions by transcribers, as we have seen that there is no ground for such an hypothesis respecting the text of the Greek Gospels, so we may infer, that the Hebrew text of Matthew did not thus suffer during the fifty years after its first appearance. Such an hypothesis, altogether improbable in itself, would require strong, direct proof to justify us in admitting it ; but, on the contrary, there is nothing to set aside the conclusion, founded on the general analogy of other writings, that this

Gospel was the work of an individual author, and was, during the short interval before its translation, preserved essentially as written by him.

Speaking of the time when the Hebrew original alone was extant, Papias says, that "every one translated it as he could"; meaning, I conceive, that he translated it to himself in reading it. His words, it is evident, directly imply, that it was in the hands of readers whose vernacular language was the Greek. Many of the Jewish converts, without doubt, were capable of understanding it both in the Hebrew and the Greek. There were, therefore, contemporary judges of the correspondence of the translation with the original, by whom its correspondence was not questioned; for had it been, we should have known the fact. Nor is an expression of doubt concerning its authenticity to be found in any subsequent age; on the other hand, controvertists, the most opposed to each other, agreed in using the Greek translation as a common authority.

But the whole supposition of licentious alterations in the Gospels from the text of their original authors, must rest on the belief, that there was a general indifference among the early

Christians about the genuineness and authenticity of the books from which they derived a knowledge of their religion. Those writings they might have preserved uncorrupted, if they would. But such, it must be presumed, was their negligence and folly, that they cared not, whether the contents of the Gospels were true or false ; whether they proceeded from apostles and evangelists, or from unknown and anonymous individuals. Christians, at the time of which we speak, were submitting to severe privations, and exposing themselves to great sufferings, for their religion. They were supported by a conviction of the infinite value of the truths which it taught, those truths, the knowledge of which was preserved, as they believed, in the writings of its first disciples. But, if we suppose the text of any one of the Gospels to have suffered essential alteration, we must suppose that Christians were indifferent about the contents of those books, which they regarded as the authentic records of their faith, their duties, their consolations, and their hopes. It seems, therefore, not too much to say of the hypothesis of the essential corruption of the Gospels, that it is irreconcilable with any just conceptions of the circumstances and feelings of the early Christians, and of the moral nature of man.

CHAPTER III.



OBJECTIONS CONSIDERED.

UPON what arguments, then, rests the supposition, that essential alterations have been made in the Gospels since their original composition? These arguments, whatever they are, if of any force, must assume the character of objections and difficulties, when viewed in relation to the proposition, the truth of which has been maintained. But strongly as the corruption of the Gospels has been asserted, I am unacquainted with any formal statement of arguments in its proof.

Those by whom it has been principally maintained, belong to that large class of German critics, who reject the belief of any thing properly miraculous in the history of Christ. But the difficulty of reconciling this disbelief of the miracles with the admission of the truth of facts concerning him not miraculous, is greatly increased, if the Gospels be acknowledged as the uncorrupt-

ed works of those who were witnesses of what they relate, or who derived their information immediately from such witnesses. On the other hand, in proportion as suspicion is cast upon the genuineness and authenticity of those writings, the history of Christ becomes doubtful and obscure. An opening is made for theories concerning his life, character, and works, and the origin of his religion. Any account of our Saviour, upon the supposition that he was not a teacher from God, endued with miraculous powers, must be almost wholly conjectural. But such a conjectural account will appear to less disadvantage, if placed in competition with narratives of uncertain origin, than if brought into direct opposition to the authority of original witnesses.

The theory of the corruption of the Gospels has been connected with an hypothesis concerning the manner in which the first three Gospels were formed ; from which, as I conceive, it has been regarded as deriving its main support. This hypothesis is intended to account for the remarkable phenomena in the agreement and disagreement of the first three Gospels with each other. It has been explained and defended, with much clearness and ability, by Bishop Marsh.* It supposes the existence of an origi-

* In his "Dissertation on the Origin and Composition of our three first Canonical Gospels," and his tracts in the controversy

nal document, a brief narrative of the public life of Christ, the Original Gospel of Eichhorn. This document, it is believed, was in the hands of several persons, who added to it different narratives, according to their respective information, so that copies of it were in existence with different additions. Each of the first three evangelists is thought to have used a different copy, as the basis of his Gospel. It is then only to suppose that the same custom of making additions, which was common in regard to the original document just mentioned, prevailed afterwards in regard to the Gospels, and we have the very supposition, against which we have been contending.

To this the answer is, that the hypothesis, in any form in which it may be presented, can, at most, be regarded only as creating a presumption that the Gospels have been corrupted; and this presumption would be of no force in opposition to the facts stated in the two preceding chapters. It would only throw suspicion upon the hypothesis itself; since this must be conformed to all the facts which

occasioned by an anonymous publication (of which Bishop Randolph was the author) entitled, "Remarks on Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament; by Way of Caution to Students in Divinity."

have a bearing upon it. The latter must not be made to bend to the former. With such a view of the subject, it would be improper, in this connexion, to enter into a particular examination of the theory in question. Such an examination, however, may be found in one of the additional notes to this volume.* If the reasoning there urged be correct, it will appear that the hypothesis of an original document, gradually receiving additions from different hands, and used in different forms by the first three evangelists, involves suppositions which cannot be admitted; that it is unnecessary in order to account for the agreement of the Gospels with each other; and that it is neither implied, nor rendered probable, by the phenomena to be explained; but that, on the contrary, it is inconsistent with those phenomena.

It may be recollected, that the Original Gospel is regarded by Eichhorn, not only as the common source of our first three Gospels; but likewise of certain apocryphal gospels, which were in use before them.† These, according to him, were the following; the Gospel of the Hebrews; the Gospel of Marcion; the Memoirs by the Apostles, used by Justin Martyr; the gospel

* See Additional Note, D.

† See p. 9, seqq.

adopted by Cerinthus and his sect; gospels used by Tatian in composing his Diatessaron; and those used by the Apostolic Fathers. These gospels, and our first three Gospels, are all supposed to have been so intimately connected, as to prove their derivation from a common original; and the knowledge which we possess respecting the contents of the former, is regarded as illustrating the process of change and growth, which they had all gone through. I shall, in the course of this work, remark, under the proper heads, upon the gospels mentioned by Eichhorn, and endeavour to show, that the Gospel of the Hebrews was, probably, in its primitive state, the Hebrew original of St. Matthew; that the books used by Justin were our four Gospels; that there is no reason to doubt, that the *four* gospels, which, toward the end of the second century, Tatian, who had been a disciple of Justin Martyr, made the basis of his Diatessaron, were the four canonical Gospels; that Marcion had a mutilated copy of St. Luke,—a fact which, in consequence of the examinations that have taken place since Eichhorn wrote, seems now to be generally admitted; that the scanty, loose, and uncertain information respecting Cerinthus and his sect, affords no ground for the conclusion, that they used a peculiar gospel; and that there

is nothing in the writings ascribed to Apostolic Fathers, which may justify the supposition, that, previously to the general reception of our four Gospels, other gospels were in common circulation among Christians as authentic histories of Christ.

The following example has already been quoted from Eichhorn, as adduced by him to prove the gradual accession of matter which all these gospels were receiving. He says, that Justin Martyr, in the history of Jesus used by him, found the words, pronounced from heaven, at his baptism, thus given; *Thou art my son; this day have I begotten thee*; that Clement of Alexandria quotes the same words with the addition of the epithet *beloved*; that in the catholic Gospels different words are represented as having been uttered, as; *Thou art my beloved son, with whom I am well pleased*; and that in the Gospel of the Ebionites both accounts were blended together. Hence he infers, that the histories of Christ were constantly enlarging with new matter. But if we reduce the argument to a general principle, this must be stated somewhat as follows. If in a particular book we find one account of a transaction, and in another book a different account, and in a third book, an account in which the two former are united, it may be inferred that

the copies of all these books have been corrupted. The simple statement of this principle, if it be really involved in the argument, is the only confutation which the latter admits of. There is no doubt that the apocryphal Gospel of the Ebionites was corrupted and interpolated; but the facts just mentioned afford no proof that the same is true of the catholic Gospels.*

Again, it has been affirmed by Eichhorn, as a general truth, that "before the invention of printing, in transcribing a manuscript, the most arbitrary alterations were considered as allowable; since they affected only an article of private property, written for one's individual use."† This statement, which, if correct, would destroy the credit of all ancient writings, seems to have been made through inadvertence; and, therefore, though apparently a principal argument in defence of the supposed corruption of the Gospels, cannot be regarded as a proper subject for particular remark. It is important only as showing, that in attacking the genuineness of their text, one is unconsciously led to assume principles which would equally prove the corruption of all other ancient works.

* I shall have occasion hereafter to notice particularly the words which Justin and Clement mention as having been uttered at our Saviour's baptism.

† See pp. 13, 14.

As evidences, likewise, of the corruption of the Gospels, a few passages have been quoted from ancient writers. These, in fact, form the whole of what may be considered as a direct attempt to prove the proposition. Two of them, one from Dionysius of Corinth, and the other from Origen, we have already had occasion to examine, and their true bearing appears to be directly opposed to the supposition which they have been brought to establish.* Two others remain to be noticed.

"Celsus," says Eichhorn, "objects to the Christians, that they had changed their Gospels three times, four times, and oftener, as if they were deprived of their senses."† The passage is twice quoted by him, and, therefore, it may be presumed, is regarded as an important proof of his theory. If it were correctly represented in the words which have been given, the first obvious answer would be, that such a charge is as little to be credited upon the mere assertion of Celsus, as various other calumnies of that writer against the Christians, which no one at the present day believes. But Celsus does not say what he is represented as saying. He does not bring the charge against Christians generally,

* See pp. 61, 62, and p. 70, seqq.

† See pp. 15, 16.

but against *some* Christians. His words are preserved in the work composed by Origen in reply to Celsus; and, correctly rendered, are as follows, "Afterwards Celsus says, that some believers,* like men driven by drunkenness to commit violence on themselves, have altered the Gospel-history, † since its first composition, three times, four times, and oftener, and have refashioned it, so as to be able to deny the objections made against it." To this, the whole reply of Origen is as follows; "I know of none who have altered the Gospel-history, except the followers of Marcion, of Valentine, and I think also those of Lucan. But this affords no ground for reproach against the religion itself; but against those who have dared to corrupt the Gospels. And as it is no reproach against philosophy, that there are Sophists, or Epicureans, or Peripatetics, or any others who hold false opinions; so also it is no reproach against true Christianity, that there are those who have altered the Gospels, and introduced heresies foreign from the teaching of Jesus." †

* *Τίνας τῶν πιστευόντων, φασὶν* [Κίλσος], κ. τ. λ.

† Literally, *the Gospel*, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον; but this word is here used, as it is elsewhere in ancient writers, to denote the Gospel-history. In this use of the word, the four Gospels are commonly denoted, considered collectively, as containing this history.

‡ Orig. cont. Cels. Lib. II. § 27. Opp. I. 411.

It is evident that Origen regarded the words of Celsus as a mere declamatory accusation, which he was 'not called upon to repel by any elaborate reply. A grave charge against the whole body of Christians, of the nature of that which Celsus urges, could not have been dismissed in three sentences of a long and able work, in defence of Christianity against his attacks. The charge may have been founded, as Origen supposes, upon the mutilations and corruptions of the Gospels, made by some heretics. Another solution of it is, that Celsus, being acquainted with the four Gospels, and perceiving that they had much in common with much that was different, did, on this ground, represent Christians as having given the Gospel-history four different forms. But if we believe that Celsus fully understood the subject, and having no reference to any heretical sects, or to the existence of four different histories of Christ, really meant to bring against catholic Christians a grave charge of corrupting the Gospels, then we must consider what is the proper inference from the passage. He was, as no one will deny, forward enough in adducing unsupported and calumnious accusations against those whom he was attacking. If there had been any pretence for saying that Christians, *generally speaking*, had altered

and corrupted the Gospels, he would have said it. But he does not. He merely says, whether truly or not may be a question, that *some* Christians had done this. It is of the nature of such a charge, when brought against some of any community, to exculpate the community in general. According, therefore, to the implied testimony of their enemy, Christians, generally speaking, had not altered nor corrupted the Gospels.

But the passage affords ground for further remark. Celsus compares the conduct of those, whom he charges with altering the Gospel-history or the Gospels, to that of men impelled by drunkenness to commit violence on themselves. Origen does not object to the comparison, and there is no objection to be made to the opinion implied in it, respecting the character and consequences of such a procedure. It is one which the friends and the enemies of the religion must equally have perceived to be correct. The question, therefore, whether the early Christians altered the Gospels, resolves itself into the question, whether they acted like men intoxicated, to the evident ruin of their cause.

The other passage, before referred to, is from Clement of Alexandria. "Clement also, at the end of the second century, speaks of those who

corrupted the gospels, and ascribes it to them, that in Matthew, v. 10. instead of the words, *for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven*; there was found in some manuscripts, *for they shall be perfect*; and in others, *for they shall have a place, where they shall not be persecuted.*"* This statement is erroneous. Clement does not speak of those who corrupted, but of those who paraphrased, the Gospels; nor does he give the words alleged by him, as various readings in manuscripts of the Gospels. Quoting the original text incorrectly, probably from memory, in these words; "Blessed are they who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for they shall be called the sons of God;"† he adds; "or as some who have paraphrased the Gospels express it; Blessed are they who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for they shall be perfect; and, Blessed are they who are persecuted for my sake, for they shall attain a place, where they shall not be persecuted."‡ It is of par-

* See p. 16.

† The words are not, as given by Eichhorn, *For theirs is the kingdom of heaven.*

‡ Μακάριοι, φησὶ [Κύριος], οἱ διωγόμενοι ἵνατι δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι αὐτοὶ οὐκ ὀκνήσουσιν ἅ, ὡς τινὲς τῶν μεταφράζοντων τὰ εὐαγγέλια, Μακάριοι, φησὶ, οἱ διωγόμενοι ὅτι τῆς δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἴσονται εἶλαι, κ. τ. λ. Stromat. Lib. iv. p. 490.

aphrasts or scholiasts, that the passage is understood by Eichhorn himself, when writing without a view to his peculiar theory.* Clement expresses no indignation against those of whom he speaks, as he would have done, if they had corrupted the Gospels. On the contrary, his quoting their words as he does, implies a certain degree of approbation.

It is remarkable that, in understanding his words as proving a general license of corruption during his time, the extraordinary and quite incredible nature of the precise inference which is to be drawn from them, has not been adverted to. If his words were thus to be understood, they would prove, not that transcribers made additions to what they found before them, or occasionally omitted or corrupted a passage; but that they indulged themselves in the most wanton alterations of the plain language of the Gospels. There are few passages less exposed to intentional corruption, than the one quoted by Clement; and if this were made to assume three such different forms in the text of the manuscripts which he had seen, and if these changes afforded, as is maintained, a specimen of the common practice of transcribers; it would

* Einleit. in d. N. T. III. 553.

follow that the text of the Gospels, had, in the time of Clement, undergone great alterations, and had assumed a very different character in different manuscripts. There must have been, in his age, an astonishing discordance among different copies of the Gospels. Some must have been very unlike others, in their modes of expression, as well as in their contents. But if this be the legitimate conclusion from the meaning which has been put upon his words, it is only necessary to state it, in order to show that that meaning must be false.

Such are the main arguments in support of the hypothesis of the corruption of the Gospels ; or, in other words, such are the objections to the proposition, that they remain essentially the same, as they were originally composed. The truth of this proposition, it may be recollected, is proved by various considerations, unconnected with each other. It appears from the essential agreement among the very numerous copies of these books, so diverse in their character, and in their mode of derivation from the original. This agreement among different copies could not have existed, unless some archetype had been faithfully followed ; and this archetype, it has been shown, could have been no other

than the original text. It appears from the reverence in which the Gospels were held by the early Christians; and the deep sense which they had of the impropriety and guilt of making any alteration in those writings. It appears from the historical notices respecting their text, which are wholly inconsistent with the supposition of its having suffered essential corruptions. And, finally, it appears from the internal character of the books themselves, which show no marks of gross, intentional interpolation; but, on the contrary, exhibit a consistency of style and conception, irreconcilable with the supposition of it.

If, then, we may consider the proposition as established, that the Gospels remain essentially the same as they were originally composed; the remaining inquiry is, Whether they are the works of those to whom they have been ascribed.

PART II.

**HISTORICAL EVIDENCE, THAT THE GOSPELS HAVE BEEN
ASCRIBED TO THEIR TRUE AUTHORS.**

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

**EVIDENCE FROM THE GENERAL RECEPTION OF THE GOSPELS
AS GENUINE AMONG CHRISTIANS DURING THE LAST QUAR-
TER OF THE SECOND CENTURY.**

HAVING endeavoured to show, that the Gospels have been transmitted to us as they were first written, I shall, in what follows, adduce evidence of the fact, that they have been ascribed to their true authors.

The proof which may be first stated, is, that they were regarded with the highest reverence, as genuine and sacred books, by the great body of Christians during the last quarter of the second century.

There is little or no dispute about the truth of this proposition, and I might, perhaps, assume it as conceded, and proceed to reason upon it; but it may be better to bring forward some of the evidence on which it rests. I have

had occasion already to quote, or allude to, a part of it ;* and shall endeavour, as far as possible, to avoid repetition. The passages before given must be viewed in connexion with those here alleged.

One of the earliest Christian writers, whose works have come down to us, is Irenæus. The exact time of his birth is uncertain ; but he was born in the first half of the second century ; and but just survived its close. Let us see, then, what may be inferred from his writings concerning the common belief of Christians during his lifetime. Beside a few fragments of other writings, there is only one of his works which remains to us, his treatise against Heretics, a name which, in his time, was limited in its application to the different sects of Gnostics, and the Ebionites. It is in the name of the great body of catholic believers, and in defence of their opinions, that Irenæus is writing. The first sentence of the following passage has been already quoted.

“We,” says Irenæus, “have not received the knowledge of the way of our salvation by any others than those, through whom the Gospel has come down to us ; which Gospel they first

* See Part I. c 2. pp. 59—67.

preached, and afterwards, by the will of God, transmitted to us in writing, that it might be the foundation and pillar of our faith.”—“For after our Lord had risen from the dead, and they [the apostles] were clothed with the power of the Holy Spirit descending upon them from on high, were filled with all gifts, and possessed perfect knowledge, they went forth to the ends of the earth, spreading the glad tidings of those blessings which God has conferred upon us, and announcing peace from heaven to men; having all, and every one alike, the Gospel of God. Matthew, then, among the Hebrews, published a Gospel in their own language; while Peter and Paul were preaching the Gospel at Rome, and founding a church there. And after their departure,* Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, himself delivered to us in writing what Peter had preached; and Luke, the companion of Paul, recorded the

* The word in the original, like the English word ‘departure,’ is ambiguous, and may mean either the death of the apostles, or their departure from Rome. Either explanation is attended with some difficulties. One manuscript seen by Grotius, instead of the words ‘after their departure,’ has this reading, ‘after its publication,’ that is, the publication of the Gospel of Matthew. The passage is likewise quoted in a manuscript *catena* in the Vatican, with a reading expressing the same sense. See Massuet’s note in his edition of Irenæus, and Grotius’s Proem to his Commentary on Mark.

Gospel preached by him. Afterwards John, the disciple of the Lord, who leaned upon his breast, likewise published a Gospel, while he dwelt at Ephesus in Asia. And all these have taught us, that there is one God, the maker of heaven and earth, announced by the law and the prophets, and one Christ, the Son of God. And he who does not assent to them, despises indeed those who knew the mind of the Lord; but he despises also Christ himself, the Lord, and he despises likewise the Father, and is self-condemned, resisting and opposing his own salvation; and this all heretics do.”*

In this passage, it may be observed, that Irenæus in defending the Christian doctrine, rests it upon the authority of the Gospels; that he even does this without mentioning the other books of the New Testament; that he considers the former as having been composed, that they might be the foundation and pillar of the faith of Christians; and that he assigns them, without doubt or hesitation, to the authors by whom we believe them to have been written. The following passage is to the same effect.

“Nor can there be more or fewer Gospels than these. For as there are four regions of

* *Contra Hæres.* Lib. III. c. 1.

the world in which we live, and four cardinal winds, and the Church is spread over all the earth, and the Gospel is the pillar and support of the Church, and the breath of life; in like manner is it fit that it should have four pillars, breathing on all sides incorruption, and refreshing mankind. Whence it is manifest, that the Logos, the former of all things, who sits upon the cherubim, and holds together all things, having appeared to men, has given us a Gospel, fourfold in its form, but held together by one spirit.”—“The Gospel according to John declares his princely, complete,* and glorious generation from the Father, saying, ‘In the beginning was the Logos, and the Logos was with God, and the Logos was God; all things were made by him, and without him was nothing made.’”—“The Gospel according to Luke, being of a priestly character, begins with Zacharias the priest offering incense to God.”—“Matthew proclaims his human generation, saying; ‘The genealogy of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham.’”—“Mark begins with the prophetic Spirit, which came down from above to men,

* *Efficabilem*;—the meaning of this word, as applied to generation, is explained, Lib. II. c. 17. § 2. where see also Massuet’s note.

saying ; 'The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. As it is written in Isaiah the prophet.'''*

Here again the same remarks may be made as before. The Gospels are expressly assigned to the authors to whom we ascribe them ; and they are spoken of as the four pillars of the church, breathing on all sides incorruption, and refreshing mankind. The figure has been ridiculed by some ; and, without doubt, this, and other conceptions in the passage, are not in perfectly good taste ; but the meaning is sufficiently clear, and the want of metaphorical elegance does not affect the present argument.†

I pass over other passages, to be found in Lardner, in which Irenæus speaks of the Gospels, referring them to their authors, and remarking generally upon their character and contents. The passages cited by him from the Gospels, many of which are cited more than once, may be found collected in Massuet's edition of his works. They fill about eleven

* *Contra Hæres.* Lib. III. c. 11. § 8.

† It may be observed, however, that Irenæus is, in general, not grossly deficient in propriety or force of expression. His figures are sometimes apposite and striking. The phraseology of the old Latin translation, in which alone the greater part of his work is extant, is literal and barbarous ; but the character of the original appears through it.

closely printed folio columns; while the passages cited from all the Old Testament fill about fifteen such columns. He appeals to the Gospels continually; and quotes them as undoubted authority for the faith of the great body of Christians, with the same confidence which might be felt by any writer of the present day. They were books in general circulation and commonly studied. The Gnostics, he informs us, delighted in curious and difficult questions, and made particular use of the parables and obscurer parts of Scripture, to defend their errors. "But a man of sound and safe understanding," he says, "considerate, and a lover of truth, will give his earnest attention to those things which God has put in the power of man, and enabled him to understand; he will make proficiency in their study, through daily exercise rendering the acquisition of knowledge easy. The things which I speak of are those which are obvious to view, and whatever are clearly, without ambiguity, and in express words, declared in the Divine Scriptures." As respects the unity and works of God, "All the scriptures," he says, "both Prophecies and Gospels, are clear, and without ambiguity, and may be

* Lib. II. c. 27. § 1.

heard in like manner by all, though all do not believe.”*

Such is the information afforded by Irenæus, concerning the general reception of the Gospels in his time. He had spent some portion of the earlier part of his life in Asia ; but was, at the time when he wrote, bishop of Lyons in Gaul.

From Gaul we will return to Asia. Theophilus, the next writer whom I shall quote, was made bishop of Antioch about the year 168, and died before the end of the second century. Of his writings, we have remaining only one work, containing an account and defence of Christianity, addressed to Autolycus, a heathen. After some mention of the Jewish law and prophets, he has this passage ; “ Concerning the righteousness, of which the law speaks, the like things are to be found also in the Prophets and Gospels ; because that all spoke by the inspiration of one and the same spirit of God.”† The estimation in which the Gospels were held by Christians, appears as well in the passage just quoted, as in the following. “ These things,” says Theophilus, “ the Holy Scriptures teach us, and all who were moved by the Spirit ; among whom John says ; ‘ In the beginning was

* Ibid. § 2.

† Lib. III. § 12.

the Logos, and the Logos was with God.' "* Having quoted a passage from the Old Testament (Proverbs iv. 25, 26.), which he interprets as a precept of chastity, he says ; " But the Evangelic voice teaches purity yet more imperatively," and then quotes Matthew v. 28, and 32, in proof of his assertion.† A little after he compares, in a similar way, the precepts of the Old Testament with the New, introducing some quotations from Matthew, with the expression, " the Gospel says." ‡

From Antioch we pass to Carthage. Here, Tertullian, the most ancient and the most eloquent of the Latin fathers, was born, and here he was afterwards presbyter. The dates of his birth and death are both uncertain ; but he became distinguished as a writer just about the close of the second century. No evidence from any writer can be more full and satisfactory, than that which he affords of the general reception of the Gospels, and of their authority as the foundation of the Christian faith. He ascribes them without hesitation to the authors by whom we believe them to have been written ; and he rests the proof of their genuineness upon unbroken tradition in the churches founded by

* Lib. II. § 22.

† Lib. III. § 13.

‡ Ibid. § 14.

the apostles. There is not a chapter in the Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John, from which he does not quote; and from most of them his quotations are numerous. "We lay it down," says Tertullian, "in the first place, that the Evangelic Record* had for its authors, apostles, to whom this office of promulgating the Gospel was assigned by our Lord himself. And if some of them were companions of apostles, yet they did not stand alone, but were connected with and guided by apostles." "Among the apostles, John and Matthew form the faith within us. Among the companions of the apostles, Luke and Mark renovate it."† The Gospels are always appealed to by him as decisive authority for the faith of Christians. The evangelists and apostles are placed by him, as they are by Irenæus, and Theophilus, in the same rank with the Jewish prophets. In his time, the Scriptures, among which the Gospels held the first place, were publicly read, as at the present day, in the assemblies of Christians. "We come together," he says, "to bring to

* *Evangelicum instrumentum*;—'instrumentum' is here used in a metaphorical sense, derived from its technical meaning, as signifying a legal instrument (which may be produced in evidence), or the public record, *instrumentum imperii*.

† *Advers. Marcionem*. Lib. IV. §. 2.

mind the divine scriptures ; for the purpose of warning or admonition, if the state of the times require it. Certainly, we nourish our faith, raise our hopes, and confirm our trust by the sacred words.”* The Christian Scriptures were accessible to all. In one of his writings, a defence of Christians addressed to heathens, he says ; “ Examine the words of God, our literature, which we are far from concealing, and which many accidents throw in the way of those who are not of our number.”† He then quotes two passages from these Scriptures, one from the Gospels, and another from the Epistles, in evidence of what Christians believed to be their duty in regard to civil government.

In defending the genuine Gospel of Luke, against the mutilated gospel used by Marcion, Tertullian has the following passage, a part of which has been already quoted. “ To give the sum of all, if it be certain, that *that* is most genuine which is most ancient, that most ancient which has been from the beginning, and that from the beginning which was from the apostles ; so it is equally certain, that *that* was delivered by the apostles, which has been held sacred in the churches of the apostles.” He

* Apologet. § 39.

† Ibid. § 31.

then enumerates various churches founded by apostles, which were still flourishing, and proceeds; "I affirm, then, that in those churches, and not in those only which were founded by apostles, but in all which have fellowship with them, that Gospel of Luke which we so steadfastly defend, has been received from its first publication." "The same authority," he adds, "of the apostolic churches will support the other Gospels, which, in like manner, we have from them, conformably to their copies."*

We will now pass from Carthage to Alexandria, the residence of Clement. Here was a celebrated school, for the instruction of Christians, founded, probably, early in the second century; of which Clement was, in his time, the principal master. He flourished during the latter part of the second, and the beginning of the third century. The latest date assigned for his death is A. D. 220; but most probably he died earlier; and some of his remaining works were, probably, composed before the end of the second century.

In the evidence which Clement affords of the general reception of the Gospels, as sacred books, there is nothing of a peculiar character.

* *Advers. Marcionem.* Lib. IV. § 5.

It is similar to that already adduced from Irenæus and Tertullian. His very numerous quotations from the Gospels in his extant works are, at the present day, an important means of settling their true text. In one passage, he proposes, after showing, that "the Scriptures which we [Christians] have believed, are confirmed by the authority of the Omnipotent, to evince from them in opposition to all heretics, that there is one God and Almighty Lord, clearly proclaimed by the law and the prophets, and together with them by the blessed Gospel."* This affords a specimen of the manner in which the Gospels are appealed to by him. In another place, in reasoning against certain heretics, he notices a saying ascribed to Christ, quoted by them, in support of their opinions, from an apocryphal book, called the Gospel according to the Egyptians; and commences his answer with this remark; "In the first place, we have not that saying in the four Gospels, which have been handed down to us."† Here, in a few words, he expresses his sense of the exclusive authority of the Gospels, as histories of our Saviour; and the fact of their reception before his time.

* Stromat. Lib. IV. p. 475.

† Stromat. Lib. III. p. 465.

The Gospels had been *handed down* to the Christians of his age, that is, the Christians who lived about the end of the second century. By Clement was preserved, as has been before stated, a tradition received from ancient presbyters concerning the order in which they were written. According to this tradition, "The Gospels containing the genealogies were written first. The following providence gave occasion to that of Mark. While Peter was publicly preaching the word at Rome, and through the power of the spirit making known the Gospel, his hearers, who were numerous, exhorted Mark, upon the ground of his having accompanied him for a long time, and having his discourses in memory, to write down what he had spoken; and Mark composing his Gospel, delivered it to those who made the request. Peter, knowing this, was earnest neither to forbid nor encourage it. In the last place, John, observing that the things obvious to the senses had been clearly set forth in those Gospels, being urged by his friends, and divinely moved by the spirit, composed a spiritual Gospel." *

In the second century, Celsus wrote against Christianity, probably about the year 176. His

* Apud Euseb. H. E. Lib. VI. c. 14.

work was answered in a long treatise by Origen, who seems to have observed upon every important particular contained in it, and who has given many extracts from it. It appears from these extracts, that Christians, in the time of Celsus, had histories of our Saviour, which they believed to have been written by his disciples; and the genuineness of which was not controverted by him. Without mentioning their authors by name, he frequently quotes and refers to them. It has been observed with truth, that an abridgment of the history of Jesus, corresponding to that in the Gospels, may be found in the remains of his work. He discusses the account of the miraculous birth of Christ, remarking various particulars related in St. Matthew's Gospel. He refers to the appearance and voice from Heaven at our Lord's baptism. He alludes to the account of his temptation. He says that he collected "ten or eleven publicans and sailors," with whom he travelled about "procuring a shameful and beggarly subsistence." He calls Christ himself, a carpenter.* He speaks of his miracles, of his having cured the lame and blind, fed a multitude with a few loaves, and raised the dead; and argues upon the supposi-

* Mark VI. 3.

tion, that these facts really took place. He says, it was a fiction of his disciples, that Jesus foreknew, and foretold, whatever should befall him. He refers to the prediction of our Saviour, that deceivers should come in his name. He animadverts upon various passages in our Lord's discourses ; upon his direction to his first disciples to exercise a peculiar trust in the providence of God, *to observe the lilies and the ravens* ; * upon his precept, *If any man strike thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also* ; upon his saying, *It is impossible to serve two masters* ; and upon his declaration, *It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God*. He refers to the incredulity with which he was heard, and to his denunciations against the Pharisees. He speaks of his having been betrayed by one disciple, and denied by another , of his prayer, *Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me* ; of the soldiers who derided him, of the purple robe, the crown of thorns, and the reed which was put into his hand ; of the vinegar mixed with bitter drugs, offered him at his crucifixion ; of his saying, ' I thirst ; ' of the loud cry which he uttered just before expiring ; of the

* Luke XII. 24. 27.

earthquake and darkness which accompanied his death ; of his rising from the dead ; of the angel who removed the stone at the door of the sepulchre ; of his appearing not to his enemies, but to a "distracted woman" (Mary Magdalene), and "others, engaged with him in the same magical arts ;" and of his exhibiting his hands, as they had been wounded on the cross, which last circumstance is mentioned by St. John alone.*

In one passage, Celsus says, that those who had given genealogies of Jesus, had had the confidence to derive his descent from the first man, and from the Jewish kings ; referring to the genealogies found in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. In another passage, he appears to refer at once to all our four Gospels ; for he observes, that "some relate that one, and some that two angels descended to his sepulchre, to announce to the women that Jesus was risen." St. Matthew and St. Mark speak of but one angel ; St. Luke and St. John mention two.

The numerous objections of Celsus to the accounts received by Christians respecting our Saviour, are always made to accounts found in the Gospels. After remarking upon several pas-

* John XX. 27.

sages, he says; "These things are from your own books, for we need no other testimony. Thus you fall by your own hands." He nowhere implies the existence of any narrative respecting Christ, as believed by Christians, which is not related by the evangelists.

Celsus, in his work, put many of his objections into the mouth of a Jew; speaking in whose person, he has the following passage; "Having many things which I could say concerning Jesus, which are true, and different from what has been written by his disciples, I willingly pass them over." "What, I ask," says Origen in reply, "are those facts not found in the Gospels, which the Jew in Celsus passes over. Does he not use a mere specious rhetorical flourish, when he pretends that he has something which he could say?" By 'the disciples of Jesus,' Lardner observes, that 'Celsus does not mean his followers in general; for them he calls Christians, or believers, or the like; but he here uses that term, in the most strict and proper sense, for those who had been taught by Jesus himself, that is, his apostles and companions.'*

* Respecting the statements above, see the second part of Lardner's *Jewish and Heathen Testimonies*, Ch. XVIII. In

That the histories of Christ referred to by Celsus, were our present Gospels, appears from the general correspondence of their contents ; from the particular coincidences which have been pointed out ; from the fact, that Celsus says, that they were written by our Saviour's disciples ; from their identity with the Gospels being constantly implied by Origen without the appearance of his entertaining any doubt upon the subject ; from their being attacked by Celsus as the acknowledged records of the religion, and from the impossibility that in his time, there should have existed a set of books bearing this character, which have been forgotten, and superseded by another set.

But in attacking these books, that is, our present Gospels, Celsus evidently considers himself to be undermining the foundations of Christianity ; to be attacking books regarded by Christians as of the highest authority,—as the authentic records of the history of their master, composed or sanctioned by his immediate disciples. We have, then, the evidence of an enemy of our

the third volume of the miscellaneous ' Works of Mr. John Glas,' the passages quoted by Origen from the work of Celsus, may be found collected and translated. But the translation of Glas is so strangely verbal, as often to be unintelligible without the help of the original.

religion, that the Gospels were thus regarded by the Christians of his age.

Origen was born about the year 185, and died about the year 253. There was no Christian writer whose authority was so high in his own time, and in the period immediately following. His works, only a small portion of which remains in their original language, the Greek, were very numerous. He was eminent for his talents, and for the extent of his learning. Nor was he less distinguished for his piety, his integrity, and his scrupulous conscientiousness. He was also, as I have before had occasion to observe, an accurate critic of the text of the Old and New Testament. In those of his works which are still extant in the original, the Gospels are quoted so frequently, that, supposing all other copies of them to be lost, those of Matthew, Luke, and John, might be restored almost entire from his quotations alone, if we had a clue by which to arrange them. In speaking of the history of their composition, he professes to give what he had "learnt by tradition, concerning the four Gospels, which alone are received without controversy by the church of God under heaven." He says; "The Gospel of Matthew, who, from being a tax-gatherer, became an apostle of Christ, was the first written. It

was composed in Hebrew ; and published for the use of Jewish believers. Mark next wrote his Gospel, conformably to the accounts which he had received from Peter. Hence, Peter, in his catholic epistle, acknowledges him as his son, saying ; The sister church in Babylon salutes you ; also my son Mark. The Gospel of Luke, that which is praised by St. Paul, was the third, and was composed for Gentile believers. Last of all followed that of John.* Elsewhere Origen writes thus ; “ We may then be bold to say, that the Gospel† is the prime fruit of all the scriptures.” “ Of the scriptures which are in common use, and which are believed to be divine by all the churches of God, one would not err in calling the law of Moses the fruit first produced, and the Gospel the prime fruit.”‡ “ There are four Gos-

* Apud Euseb. H. E. Lib. VI. c. 25.

† By the Gospel, here, as elsewhere, is to be understood the Gospel-history, or the four Gospels.

‡ Comment. in Joan. Tom. i. § 4. Opp. IV. p. 4. I have rendered *πρωτόκρυσμα*, *fruit first produced*, and *ἀπαρχή*, *prime fruit*. This rendering expresses Origen's meaning. He refers to a difference of signification, which exists, or which he believed to exist, between those words, as used in the Septuagint concerning offerings, which in the common English Version, are indiscriminately called *first fruits*. Respecting this difference, see Huet's note on the passage.

pels, which are, as it were, the elements of the faith of the Church, of which elements the whole world that is reconciled to God by Christ, consists." * I have before had occasion to quote a passage, in which Origen speaks of the scriptures, as "books in the most common use." †

Origen, then, speaks of the Gospels as "received without controversy," and as "believed by all the churches of God." If these expressions were to be interpreted, with the narrowest limitation, as relating only to the state of things at the precise time when he wrote, we might still infer that the Gospels had been received as of equal authority in the last quarter of the second century; since nothing had occurred during the short intervening period to produce a unanimity which did not then exist. If there had been any dissension or difference of opinion then, it is impossible that unanimity should have been afterwards produced, without some controversy or discussion, without some trace remaining of the change from one state of opinion to another; but nothing of this sort appears. Origen, however, in the expressions which he uses, does not refer to his own

* Ibid. § 6. p. 5.

† See p. 51.

time alone. His language is meant to include all Christians from the first promulgation of the Gospels. It appears from the writings of the fathers, generally, that the books, which Christians received as sacred books of the highest authority,* were, as they believed, distinguished from all others pretending to the same character, by the circumstance, that they had been unanimously so received, from the apostolic age through every successive generation of catholic Christians.

In estimating the weight of evidence, which has thus far been adduced, for the genuineness of the Gospels, it is important to keep in mind, what has not always been sufficiently attended to ; that it is not the testimony of certain individual writers alone, on which we rely, important as their testimony might be. These writers speak for a whole community, every member of which had the strongest reasons for ascertaining the correctness of his faith respecting the authenticity, and, consequently, the genuineness of the Gospels. We quote the Christian fathers, not chiefly to prove their individual belief ; but in evidence of the belief of the community to which they belonged. It is

* Τὰ ἀπολογούμενα.

not, therefore, the simple testimony of Irenæus, and Theophilus, and Tertullian, and Clement, and Origen, which we bring forward ; it is the testimony of thousands and tens of thousands of believers, many of whom were as well informed as they were, on this particular subject, and as capable of making a right judgment. All these believers were equally ready with the writers who have been quoted, to affirm the authority and genuineness of the Gospels. The most distinguished Christians of the age, men held in high esteem by their contemporaries and successors, assert that the Gospels were received as genuine throughout the community of which they were members, and for which they were writing. That the assertion was made by such men, under such circumstances, is sufficient evidence of its truth. But the proof of the general reception of the Gospels does not rest upon their assertions only, though these cannot be doubted. It is necessarily implied in their statements and reasonings respecting their religion. It is impossible that they should have so abundantly quoted the Gospels, as conclusive authority for their own faith, and that of their fellow Christians, if these books had not been regarded by Christians as conclusive authority. We cannot infer more confidently from

the sermons of Tillotson and Clarke, the estimation in which the Gospels were held in their day, than we may infer from the writers before mentioned, that they were held in similar estimation during the period when they lived.

The testimony to the genuineness of the Gospels is, therefore, distinct in its character from that which may be adduced to prove the genuineness of ancient profane writings. As testimony to this, we are able, perhaps, to collect from different authors a few passages, in which the writing in question is quoted as the work of the individual to whom it is ascribed ; or in which it is expressly affirmed that he composed such a work. We may even find it mentioned as his work in some other composition, ascribed to the same individual ; but this alone does not affect the nature of the evidence ; since the genuineness of the last mentioned writing remains to be proved, and as far as testimony is concerned, can be proved only by the testimony of individual writers. But these writers do not speak in the name and with the sanction of a whole community, every member of which was deeply and personally concerned in the question, whether the book were genuine or not. They give their testimony simply as individuals ; and they were, for the most part, individuals, who had no

interest in ascertaining the truth, and, perhaps, little curiosity about it. We have commonly no ground for supposing, that any circumstance had led them to a scrupulous examination of the claims of the work. We have no certainty that its genuineness was not doubted by others, equally well informed with the authors whom we quote. Whatever aspect the testimony to the genuineness of any ancient profane work at first view assumes, it may ordinarily, if not always, be resolved into the testimony of individual writers, under circumstances such as have been mentioned. Yet this evidence, when not invalidated by other considerations, is sufficient to satisfy us. But it is not such evidence as we produce for the genuineness of the Gospels. We bring a whole community to testify their belief respecting a subject which deeply interested them; and about which, as we shall now proceed to observe, they were in circumstances to be fully informed.

That Christians during the latter part of the second century, had sufficient means of determining whether the Gospels were genuine or not, may appear from the consideration, that they must have been acquainted with the history of the promulgation of these books. If the Gospels were the works of those to whom they are

ascribed, they had been received as such by the contemporaries of the evangelists ;—by apostles, and the companions and disciples of apostles. They had been handed down by them to succeeding Christians, as the authentic histories of their master. There had been a clear, unbroken, and, therefore, incontrovertible acknowledgment of their genuineness, during the period of somewhat more than a century, which had elapsed between the time when the earliest of them was written, and the time to which we have clearly traced back their general reception. Such must have been the state of the case upon the supposition of their genuineness ; but their history, whatever it were, must have been very different, if they were not genuine. In the latter case, they had not been known as the works of their pretended authors by the contemporaries of those to whom they were afterwards ascribed. They had not, consequently, been handed down from the first to the second generation of Christians, as the works of those individuals. But during the latter part of the second century, the only satisfactory evidence of their genuineness, that which the case necessarily demanded, must have been their general acknowledgement as genuine since the time of their supposed composition. This is the proof

on which the Christian fathers, and, consequently, the proof on which the Christian community relied ; and it is of some importance to observe, that they relied upon this alone,—that the earlier writers of whom we speak bring forward no other argument in support of their belief. Those facts in the history of the Gospels which must have been of common notoriety, were decisive of the question. On the one hand, if the facts necessary to prove their genuineness had really existed, the evidence was incontrovertible ; on the other hand, if these facts had not existed, every other pretended proof of the genuineness of the books must have been wholly unsatisfactory.

But the Christians of the latter half of the second century could not be ignorant of the history of the Gospels, or in other words, of the manner in which they had been regarded by their predecessors. From the statements which have been quoted from different writers, we may fairly take the year 175, as a period, when, as shown by direct historical evidence, the Gospels were generally received among Christians. But the old men of this period were born about the end of the first, and the commencement of the second century. During their youth, they had been contemporary with

those, who had been contemporary with the apostles and the other disciples of Christ himself, and who might have received immediate instruction from them. Irenæus informs us, that he had listened to the discourses of Polycarp, who had been a disciple of St. John, and conversant with others who had seen the Lord.* These facts are important as respects the value of the individual testimony of Irenæus to the genuineness of the Gospels. But they are also to be regarded as particular exemplifications of a general truth, about which there can be no dispute; that it needed but a single link in the chain of succession, to connect the old men of the time of Irenæus with the apostolic age. This being the case, the Christians of his time could not be ignorant of the manner in which the Gospels had been regarded by their predecessors; and in his time, the belief of the genuineness of the Gospels was established throughout the Christian community.

But Christians at the period of which we are speaking, equally with Christians at the present day, must have considered the question of the

* Irenæi Epist. ad Florin. apud Euseb. H. E. Lib. V. c. 20.—
Contra Hæres. Lib. III. c. 3. § 4.

genuineness of the Gospels as one of great importance. If a book be offered to us as of the highest authority, there is no man who will not ask what claim it has to this authority, and upon what proofs its claim is founded. There was every thing in the circumstances of the early Christians to give strength to this desire for information and evidence. In embracing a new religion, they must have felt the strongest interest concerning all that related to its character and history. This religion did not then, as it does at the present day, constitute the prevailing faith, nor blend itself with the opinions, belief, sentiments, and customs of the age. It stood in opposition to all that was established. Every thing connected with it was rendered prominent and striking by the contrast; and became a subject of earnest attention, an object of attack and defence. The early Christians were separated from other men. Their religion snapt asunder the ties of common intercourse. It called them to a new life; it gave them new sentiments, hopes, and desires; a new character; it demanded of them such a conscientious and steady performance of duty, as had hardly before been conceived of; it subjected them to privations and insults, to uncertainty and danger; it required

them to prepare for torments and death. Every day of their lives they were strongly reminded of it, by the duties which it enforced, and the sacrifices which it cost them. Their external circumstances, and their connexions with this world, instead of distracting their thoughts from it, as is the common tendency of our relations to the present life, kept it constantly pressed upon their attention. In this state of things it cannot be supposed, that they were indifferent about the genuineness of those records on which their faith rested. They must have felt, at least as strongly as we do, the fundamental importance of the subject. But respecting the history and genuineness of those records, if what has been stated be correct, they could not have been ignorant, if they would.

In estimating the value of the testimony of the Christian community during the latter part of the second century, it is well to have a just notion of the intellectual and moral character of those of whom it was composed. They were men who had derived from their religion much more correct and noble views, respecting the highest objects of the human mind, than were known to their contemporaries. They were raised above the latter in their intellectual character by the whole difference

between Christianity and heathenism. We cannot, in common cases, even teach men the system of Christian truth without producing, previously or at the same time, an enlargement of the understanding, adapted to its comprehension. The reception of the doctrines of our religion in opposition to prevailing error, implies the strong exercise of a correct judgment, which is likely to appear, whenever its exercise is demanded. He who holds these doctrines, has a body of truths in his mind, with which other opinions may be compared ; and rejected or received, according as they are or are not consistent with them. The belief of them, therefore, is adapted to produce a habit of thinking justly. It required more than common force of intellect, as well as strength of moral principle, for the early believers to give up old prejudices and familiar customs, to free themselves from the bonds of ancient authority and popular opinion, and notwithstanding all the discouragements and sufferings which they had to encounter, to become converts to a new religion so pure and elevated. This was not an effort to be expected from weak or ordinary men. Those who were suffering every variety of hardship and evil, for their belief in God and his providence, in immortality and retribution, could

not have been below the common level of their contemporaries in intellect, or virtue, or force of character. The wisdom of a Christian, is compared by Tertullian with the wisdom of Socrates. I do not assent to the justice of all that is said or implied by him; but I must think, that every one who has the power of comprehending and feeling what is excellent in character, will perceive that the writer was not a common man, and that he was not speaking of common men. "This wisdom," says he, "from the school of Heaven denies with more freedom the gods of the world; using no prevarication in ordering a cock to be sacrificed to *Æsculapius*; not introducing new demons, but expelling the old; not corrupting youth, but informing them with every virtue of modesty; and therefore receiving the unjust condemnation, not of one city, but of the whole world, in the cause of truth, which is hated the more, the more fully it is exhibited; so that this wisdom does not drink down death from a cup with an air of hilarity, but exhausts every invention of cruelty, on the cross, and in the flames."* Many similar passages might be produced from the fathers, which, at once, throw light on the

* De Animâ. § 1.

character of these writers, and correspond to what we know must have been the character and condition of Christians. Our religion, at the time to which we refer, was not so corrupted, as greatly to weaken its power over the affections and moral principles of those by whom it was held; and there is no doubt that the Christians of the second and third centuries were, as a body, distinguished from the world around them, by their moral superiority, and by virtues, which scarcely existed beyond the limits of their community. They were not, as some have pretended, an illiterate people. They had among them a full share, to say the least, of the learning and intellectual improvement of the age. From the middle of the second century, they abounded in writers, many of whose works are lost, but many which remain give proof of more than common learning and vigor of intellect. There is a tendency to speak of the Christian fathers with a disrespect wholly unmerited by those of the first ages. During the latter part of the second and the first half of the third century, that is, from the time when Irenæus wrote, till that of Origen's death, though the Christians were much fewer in number than the heathens; yet the Christian writers, as a body, have far

higher claims to intellectual distinction, than the heathen. After the period last mentioned, as Christians increased in numbers, their intellectual ascendancy, of course, became more conspicuous, and, at the same time, less extraordinary.

Such was the character of the community, throughout which the Gospels were received as genuine. There was no controversy nor difference of opinion on the subject within this community. If it had happened, that instead of three or four, there had been three or four hundred, or three or four thousand Christian writers extant, who had had occasion to mention the subject, they would have expressed themselves, as those whom I have quoted. We have then the testimony of a whole community to the genuineness of their sacred books; and the circumstances and character of this community were such as to render their testimony in the highest degree credible.

But, in addition to what has been stated, it happens that we are able to produce a striking confirmation of the testimony of the early Christians to the genuineness of the Gospels, by ascertaining, with a high degree of probability, the correctness of this testimony in regard to other books of the Christian Scriptures, from a distinct source of evidence. It is well known that all

our present books of the New Testament were not, during the first ages, received as of equal authority. Some were universally acknowledged as belonging to the class of sacred books, while others were not ; the genuineness or the value of the latter being doubted or denied by a greater or less portion of the Christian community. The books universally received, as genuine and sacred, were the following, twenty in number ; the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the thirteen epistles of St. Paul, the first epistle of John, and the first of Peter. For the genuineness of more than half of this number, we have evidence of a peculiar kind. It is that which is so ably stated by Paley in his *Horæ Paulinæ*, arising from the undesigned coincidences which appear between the Acts of the Apostles, and the epistles of St. Paul. In respect to the Acts of the Apostles and most of the epistles of St. Paul, this species of evidence in connexion with all the other proof internal and external which bears upon the same point, has, I believe, put the question to rest. There are no ancient writings for the genuineness of which we have such decisive evidence. Three of his epistles, indeed, those to Timothy and Titus, we believe to have been written after the period when the history of St. Luke closes, and

therefore the mode of reasoning adopted by Paley applies to them with less force, than to some of the other epistles. The genuineness of these three has been attacked by some of the German theologians, and has found defenders also among the same class of writers. But, reserving the question of the genuineness of these three epistles, there are ten other letters of St. Paul and the Acts of the Apostles, the genuineness of which we may consider as established. Out of twenty books which the early Christians have transmitted to us as unquestionably genuine, there are eleven which are unquestionably genuine. There are eleven for the genuineness of which we have strong proof of a kind wholly distinct from their testimony. We have a peculiar means of testing the value of our witnesses, in regard to a most important part of their evidence ; and as far as this test can be applied, their correctness is fully established. But the greater the number of books, the genuineness of which is admitted, by whatever means this be proved, the greater the presumption that the testimony of the early Christians may be relied upon ; or, in other words, that all the books of the New Testament, which they received as unquestionably genuine, are in fact genuine.

This proposition being granted, I think that he who will examine the subject, may fully satisfy himself, that the epistles to Timothy and Titus were written by St. Paul. I think he will find no reason to doubt that the two catholic epistles before mentioned, the first of John, and the first of Peter, were the works of the apostles to whom they are ascribed. With regard to them, there is, to say the least, nothing to detract from the credit due to the authority of the early Christians. But if he should come to the conclusion that all these books with those before mentioned are genuine; that sixteen out of the twenty received by the early Christians are genuine; he can hardly refuse to admit, that there is a very strong presumption in favor of the genuineness of the remaining four; these four, the Gospels, being the most important of all.

We have, hitherto, considered the subject, as if the early Christians, whose testimony has been adduced, might have had a firm belief of the truth of their religion, unconnected with a belief of the genuineness of the Gospels. There is nothing in the nature of things to render this

supposition incredible. But it is a fact deserving particular attention, that the one belief was in their minds identified with the other. Their faith in Christianity was an assurance of the truth of the accounts respecting Christ, recorded by the four evangelists. It was a belief that he was such as he was represented to be by them ; and that he taught the truths, and inculcated the precepts, preserved in their writings. What was to be learnt from the four Gospels, was the object of a Christian's faith ; and no other source of instruction came in competition with them. They were, as Irenæus expresses it, "the pillar and support of the Church." They were in the view of the Christians of his age, *the Gospel*, transmitted in writing, through the appointment of God, by those who had been commissioned to preach it.* To be a Christian, then, was to believe what was recorded in the Gospels ; or, in other words, it was to believe the credibility of these books. But these books were believed to be credible, because they were believed to be genuine ; to be the works of eyewitnesses, or of those who derived their information from eye-

* See pp. 112, 113, and 115.

witnesses ; histories, all of which had apostolic authority, because they were written by apostles, or sanctioned by apostles. Supposing any doubt to have been cast upon their genuineness, the same doubt would have extended to their credibility. If they did not appear till after the apostolic age, a false character had been ascribed to them ; and their whole contents would, in consequence, become suspicious. Every attestation, therefore, given by a Christian, of his belief in his religion was an attestation of his belief in the credibility, and the genuineness, of the four Gospels. It was in consequence and in testimony of this belief, that he lived as a Christian, and was prepared to die as a martyr. But his belief in the genuineness of the Gospels was the belief of an historical fact. It did not regard a matter of opinion or interpretation. At the same time, it lay at the foundation of his religious faith. It was the first point to be settled in becoming a believer. The conversion, the virtues, and the sufferings of the early Christians, all, therefore, bear testimony to their firm belief of this fact ; it was a fact, respecting which they had the strongest interest in not being deceived ; and such, as we have seen, was the information necessarily pos-

sessed by them, that in the exercise of common good sense, they could not have been in error.

But even putting out of view those considerations which have been brought forward to explain the value of the testimony of the Christian community, during the last quarter of the second century, to the genuineness of the Gospels, I think it may be shown, that the general reception of these books during the period in question is to be accounted for, only by admitting their genuineness.

Before attending to those considerations which may show the truth of this proposition in regard to the Gospels generally, we will advert to some circumstances which respect only the first three. These, when compared together, present phenomena, of which, if their genuineness be denied, no solution can be given, not irreconcilable with the fact of the reception of all three as books of the highest authority. The phenomena referred to consist in the long instances of verbal correspondence between them, and their coincidences in the selection and narration of the same events, viewed in connexion with their disagreements

and individual peculiarities. The common reception of the first three Gospels, and the appearances which these writings present, must be regarded together. When thus regarded, they prove the genuineness of the books in question; because upon the opposite supposition, no explanation can be given of these appearances, not inconsistent with the fact of their common reception. This is the point to which we will now attend.

If it be maintained that the first three Gospels are the compositions of writers who lived after the apostolic age, then, at first view, three suppositions may present themselves as affording a solution of the phenomena which have been mentioned. One writer may have copied from another, or from both of the others; or each writer may have made use of some written document or documents, which had much in common with those used by the other two, though in many respects dissimilar; or they may all have derived their accounts from tradition, the traditions preserved by one being partly the same with those preserved by another, and partly different. We will examine in order each of these solutions.

I. The supposition that the author of any one of the first three Gospels copied from either of

the others, has in modern times been subjected to very thorough examination. It has been found exposed to great, and, as may seem, insuperable objections, founded upon a comparison of the contents of the first three Gospels with each other. Some of these are stated in another place.* But under the conditions of the case now before us, that is, in connexion with the belief that the Gospels were written after the apostolic age, the supposition is liable to peculiar objections, which alone it seems necessary to consider at present.

These objections may be shown by applying them to a particular instance ; keeping in mind that they are applicable to any other which may be presented. Let us suppose, then, that the author of the Gospel ascribed to Luke made use of that ascribed to Matthew ; and derived from it the large portion of matter which his history has in common with it. The question then arises, What was his purpose in composing his own work ? He must have intended to give a better, a more authentic, or a more plausible history, than that ascribed to Matthew, one which might more effectually serve the end pro-

* See Additional Note, D.

posed in such a work, whatever that were. It must have been his purpose to remodel the gospel before existing, to arrange its contents in suitable order, and to omit, correct, and add, according to his superior information, skill, and judgment. The general character of both histories is strikingly the same; they coincide in the greater part of their contents; and if the writer of that ascribed to Luke took that ascribed to Matthew for the basis of his own work, all change, addition, or omission, must appear to be intentional correction or improvement. The former work must have been a refashioning of the latter, with the purpose of removing its errors, and supplying its deficiencies. The object of the author of the new history, therefore, was to produce a work which ought to supersede the old. But all this is inconsistent with the fact, that those who received his Gospel as authentic, received also that ascribed to Matthew as of equal authority; and those who revered that ascribed to Matthew, made no hesitation in admitting that ascribed to Luke, as also entitled to the rank of a sacred book. If the writer of the gospel ascribed to Luke intended to give a better, or more serviceable, history than that ascribed to Matthew, he would have been considered, either as having succeeded, or as having

failed. In comparison with the latter work, his own must either have been preferred or rejected. If we imagine that, when he wrote, the gospel afterwards ascribed to Matthew was already regarded as the composition of that apostle ; little favor would have been shown to the author of a pretended revision of such a work ; and his book would have obtained little currency. If, at the time when he wrote, the gospel afterwards ascribed to Matthew were regarded as having no claim to higher authority, than his own might pretend to ; then the two histories would have come in competition, and it cannot be supposed, that both would have been received as of equal authority and worth.

Supposing the first three Gospels to have been composed after the apostolic age, or, in other words, if their genuineness be denied, it is obvious, that similar arguments may be brought to prove, that the author of no one of them made use of either of the other two, in such a manner as to explain the correspondence between their writings. The use supposed is inconsistent with the fact of the common reception of all of them as sacred books of the highest authority.

II. We will now, then, examine the next solution which has been mentioned. It may be

said that the authors of the first three Gospels, each made use of a written document or documents; and that the document or documents used by any one of the evangelists had much common and corresponding matter, and much verbal agreement, with those used by the other two, though at the same time, they were distinguished by many individual peculiarities. In respect to this supposition, let us consider of what character those documents must have been. They were not separate narratives of single events, real or supposed, in the life of Christ. It cannot be believed that after the apostolic age the history contained in the first three Gospels, was, before their composition, circulating among Christians in many separate written fragments. Whoever was desirous of obtaining one written account of an event, or supposed event, in the life of Christ, would, in general, be desirous of obtaining more. He would extend his collection, and arrange it, if he did not find a collection arranged to his hands. The coincidence between the Gospels ascribed to Mark and Luke in the order of the events which they have in common, shows that the authors of these gospels, if they followed written documents, must have copied documents in which the events were already thus arranged.

The writer of the Gospel ascribed to Luke, says, that many before him had undertaken to prepare accounts of Christ ; and whether we do or do not believe the gospel to be the work of St. Luke, there can be no reason for doubting the truth of this information. The documents in question, then, must have been different histories of Christ, different gospels, in existence before our first three Gospels. Such writings, when once in existence, would soon be widely circulated. Now, upon the supposition that the first three Gospels were composed, after the apostolic age, out of such documents, each of them was nothing more than a particular compilation of the same kind with those already existing ; made by some unknown individual, who has left no trace of his history. Each of these new collections, likewise, was incomplete ; for each of the first three Gospels wants much that is found in the other two, and in the Gospel of John ; to say nothing of what may have existed, in any of the supposed earlier gospels. There are discrepancies between them, and they present very considerable difficulties when compared together. There could be no reason, therefore, why any individual who had possessed a more ancient collection, should reject that to which he had been accustomed, in order to sub-

stitute these three, or one of these three, in its place. There was nothing to give these new compilations any peculiar sanctity or authority; or to secure them, any more than other collections of the same kind, from additions and changes. No reason can be assigned, why any one of them, and still less why all three, equally, should have obtained such celebrity and general reception, a character so exclusively sacred, as to cause all similar compilations to disappear. The proprietor of a different collection, if he chanced to meet with one of these, might note what he found in it, not contained in his own; and if he thought the relation worthy of being preserved, he might insert it in the margin of his old manuscript, or in the text of a new one. But there was no reason why he should reject what he had before regarded as a credible narrative, because he did not find it in one of these compilations. Because three unknown individuals had made three new compilations, not differing in their general character from such as had existed before, all other manuscripts of a similar kind would not be destroyed. Copies of various manuscripts would continue to be multiplied, containing, probably, new additions; till at the end of the second century, instead of finding Christians agreed in the use of the four

Gospels, we should have found as many different gospels, as there had chanced to be different collectors. Under the circumstances supposed, no authority, generally acknowledged, could have belonged to any particular compilation.

III. We will now attend to the third supposition mentioned ; that the correspondence between the first three Gospels, supposing them to have been written after the apostolic age, is to be accounted for by the circumstance, that they were all founded upon traditionary narratives, in great part, similar or the same. To this, the answer is, that a traditionary history of Christ would have varied more in its form as preserved by three different writers. It would have become adulterated in different and opposite ways, probably grossly adulterated, through the various opinions, conceptions, errors, and passions of the times following the apostolic age. A large portion of the accounts concerning Christ would have been imperfectly comprehended by many, probably by most Christians ; and in repeating such accounts, they would have conformed them to their own apprehensions, and not to the truth. No narratives are so exposed to change and corruption by oral transmission, as those which relate to supernatural events, real or supposed. The forgeries of an

excited imagination, become more and more mingled with the history, as it passes from mouth to mouth. Traditionary relations concerning the founder of Christianity, preserved by Christians after the apostolic age, must have received a different moulding and coloring from many different hands. Had the first three Gospels been founded upon such relations, they would not have been so consistent with each other, as they now are, in presenting the same view of the most remarkable character of Christ, of the events of his life, of his words and deeds, and of the purpose of his ministry. They would not have had the striking resemblance to each other, which they now possess, in their general complexion. Nor would there have been the remarkable coincidence which now exists among them in many of their relations, in which we find the same facts, conceptions, and language. In estimating the force of these remarks, we must attend particularly to the circumstance, that the traditionary accounts supposed could not have assumed a well defined and authorized form, by being embodied into one long, oral narrative, generally taught and received; they must have existed in a fluctuating and unconnected state; for many things are related differently in the first three Gospels;

each of them has matter, and two of them, respectively, much matter, which is not found in either of the others; and the arrangement of St. Mark and St. Luke differs from that of St. Matthew. Let us suppose that the history and discourses of Socrates had been preserved by tradition, a tradition, however, not spread over the world, but confined to the city of Athens; and that, seventy or eighty years after his death, they had been first committed to writing by three different individuals. The improbability that their three works would have resembled each other, as much as the first three Gospels, partially expresses the improbability, that these Gospels, being written after the apostolic age, were founded upon tradition. That the accounts of the life of Christ were orally transmitted after the apostolic age, is, in itself, highly improbable. Christians were scattered over the world. His history must have constituted the fundamental instruction of a Christian; and there can be little doubt, therefore, that it was early committed to writing. But, perhaps, it is unnecessary to urge these considerations. Whatever defect may be supposed to exist in the direct historical evidence of the genuineness of the Gospels, it seems at the present day to be generally agreed, that

there is sufficient evidence to prove, that ~~some~~ one or more written histories of Christ were in existence in the apostolic age. The writer of the gospel ascribed to St. Luke, expressly acknowledges, as has just been remarked, the existence of other histories more ancient than his own. But this fact being admitted, it cannot be supposed that any histories of a later age were founded upon tradition alone, to the neglect of those which had been in use before them. We are, therefore, thrown back upon the supposition, that the first three Gospels, if composed after the times of the apostles, were founded upon written documents, a supposition, it will be recollected, which has just been examined and seen to be untenable.

The argument, which it has been my object to illustrate, may be stated briefly in the following manner. There are many coincidences between any two of the first three Gospels, so remarkable, that in each particular case, they admit only of one of the following explanations; either one writer copied the other, or each writer followed some authority common to both; which authority must either have been written or oral. But either of these solutions, to which we are reduced by the nature of the case, becomes too improbable to be admitted, if we

suppose those Gospels to have been written after the apostolic age.*

It is, then, a curious and important circumstance, that in the very structure of the first three Gospels, when compared together, taken in connexion with the fact of their common reception and high and peculiar authority among Christians before the close of the second century, we find evidence, that they must have been composed during the apostolic age. Upon a contrary supposition we have seen that no solution can be given of the remarkable phenomena presented by them, which is in itself probable, and, at the same time, consistent with the fact just stated. But if written in the apostolic age, they must have been handed down from that period with such a character as gave them the authority which they afterwards possessed; and no reasonable doubt can remain of their genuineness. They were works which had received the sanction of that age; their authors were then, undoubtedly, known; and they were undoubtedly ascribed to their true authors.

* On the manner in which the phenomena presented by the first three Gospels, when compared together, may be explained on the supposition of their genuineness, see Additional Note, D.

We will now regard the four Gospels in common. Their general reception as genuine and sacred books during the last quarter of the second century, can be accounted for, it is believed, only by admitting their genuineness.

Let us first view the subject in its simplest form. If the Gospels be not genuine, how was it possible for any one of them to obtain general reception and authority, as the work of the author to whom it was ascribed? This could not have taken place during the age of the apostles, while the reputed author or his friends were still living. After the death, therefore, of the reputed author, and of most of those acquainted with him, we must suppose that a claim was first set up for a certain book, falsely asserting it to be the work of St. Matthew, or St. John, or one of the other evangelists. The claim had not before been heard of. The evidence which the case demanded to satisfy any reasonable man, that is, the belief and testimony of the preceding age, was wanting. It must have been evident, therefore, that the claim was without foundation. An at-

tempted fraud of this kind in relation to books of such general interest, and pretending to such high authority, could not, from its very nature, have been successful. It could not have produced belief; and it would be an hypothesis, against which it is unnecessary to bring arguments, to suppose it to have produced, throughout the widely dispersed Christian community, a general profession of belief in what every one must have known, or at least strongly suspected, to be a falsehood.

Possibly, however, the suggestion may still arise, that the reception of the Gospels, as the works of those to whom they are ascribed, was produced by a general concert and combination among Christians, under the direction of those of most eminence and authority. Enough has been already said to show, that the effect in question could not have been the result of such a combination.* But let us again consider, that the supposition implies great dishonesty in the deceivers, and gross ignorance and credulity in the deceived; and that one or the other of these charges will lie against the whole Christian community. But none would venture explicitly

* See before, p. 37, seqq.

to maintain, that the character of the early Christians was such as to render it probable, that one portion of them was so fraudulent, as to impose upon their brethren, for a rule of faith and practice, certain books, as genuine, which they knew were not genuine ; and that the larger portion was so weak, as to submit quietly to the imposition. It is a strong subsidiary argument, if such were needed, against the supposition of a fraudulent or arbitrary assignment of the names of the authors of the Gospels, that only two of them are ascribed to apostles ; and one of these two is ascribed to an apostle, not distinguished except as the author of the work in question. If the assignment had been arbitrary, names of more distinction would have been chosen. The early fathers, as is well known, were solicitous to prove, that the Gospels of Mark and Luke, though not written by apostles, were entitled to apostolical authority, on the ground that the former only embodied those narratives which St. Peter had delivered orally, and that the latter had received the sanction of St. Paul. Upon the supposition, that these writings were as little the work of the supposed evangelists as of the apostles, the names of the latter would have been given them at once.

But there are other considerations to which we will now attend. It is to be particularly remarked, that we have not one only, but four books, each professing to give a history of Jesus Christ. These books, though consistent with each other, in their representations of his most remarkable character; though they agree in giving the same view of his doctrines, and of the purpose of his ministry, and though they have many facts and discourses common to two or more of their number; yet differ much from each other in the selection, arrangement, and connexion of events, and in their accounts of some particular facts and transactions. Their discrepancies are such as could not escape observation. In the first half of the third century, the importance of them was magnified by Origen in the language of extravagant exaggeration. He adopted, and carried to its greatest length, the allegorical mode of interpreting the Scriptures; and thought that there was no other means of saving the credit of the Gospels, but by recurring to the hidden sense of their words. In one place, after remarking upon an apparent

disagreement between the first three evangelists and St. John, he says ; “ And in regard to many other passages ; if one carefully examine the Gospels, with a view to the dissonances in their history, which, severally, we shall endeavour to set forth, according to our ability, he will, being wholly bewildered, either refuse to acknowledge, conformably to truth, the authority of the Gospels, and making a selection, will adhere to one alone, not willing wholly to give up the faith concerning our Lord, or receiving the four, will determine that the truth is not in their literal meaning.” *

Now, if we admit that the Gospels were written by the authors to whom they are ascribed, the general reception of all four, as of equal authority, notwithstanding these discrepancies, is at once accounted for. But supposing them not to be genuine ; no probable explanation can be given of this fact. Allowing that each of the four Gospels might, in some way or other, have obtained a certain degree of credit ; yet one would have been used by one portion of Christians, and another by another, according as the place of its composition, or some other par-

* Comment. in Joan. Tom. x. § 2. Opp. IV. 163.

ticular circumstance, favored its reception. There would have been as many different parties among Christians, as there were different Gospels; each party maintaining the superior authority of its own Gospel. Beside these, there would probably have been another large party, which would not have admitted the authority, or at least the genuineness, of either of our present Gospels. They, who had received, and had been accustomed to use, a particular Gospel, would look with suspicion upon another which was presented as its rival. However credulously they had admitted the claims of their own history, they would examine with jealousy those of a new work. This would especially be the case, if the latter appeared, in any respects, though but of little importance, to be inconsistent with, or contradictory to, the former. But obvious discrepancies exist among the Gospels, the importance of which would be magnified by those who, having been accustomed to use and reverence one of these books, were urged to receive another as its companion, and to regard it as of equal credit. These discrepancies, apparent or real, must, therefore, have greatly aggravated the difficulty of introducing any other Gospel among those by whom one of the Gospels had been already received. Let us suppose the

Gospel ascribed to Luke, for instance, to have been presented for the first time to Christians, who had been accustomed to use only that ascribed to Matthew. Upon first opening the former, they would have been shocked at finding a genealogy of Christ, quite different from that with which they were familiar. They would next have missed, in its place, the Sermon on the Mount, and having found a portion of it elsewhere, they would have regarded it as inaccurately reported, when they perceived that with much verbal similarity, different thoughts were in fact expressed. They would have been offended by an arrangement of events throughout the narrative, irreconcilable with that in their own Gospel. They would have discovered that even a different name, Levi, was given to the supposed author of that Gospel, in the account of his being called by Christ to be an apostle. Upon further examination, many other discrepancies, real or apparent, that is, many other reasons for rejecting this new history, would have presented themselves; and so far from its being admitted to the same rank with that which they had before used, it would have been thrown aside with strong dislike. Beside the prejudice against it which would thus necessarily exist, we must recollect that all well founded

claims to genuineness and credit are excluded by the supposition we are considering. There is, therefore, no other account to be given of the common reception of these two Gospels, together with the remaining two, as all of equal authority, except this, that they had been handed down from the apostolic age, as the works of the persons, to whom they were ascribed, and had always been regarded as of equal authority. To recur for a moment to the notion of a concerted plan to select our present Gospels, ascribe them to certain authors, and bring them into common use, it may be observed, that the more intelligent Christians before the end of the second century, would not have concerted a plan to bring four Gospels into use, which the most able and learned of their immediate successors, Origen, thought exposed to such serious objections, when compared with each other.

With the argument just stated, a consideration is connected which deserves particular attention. It is, that if the genuineness of any one of the four Gospels be proved, a strong presumption immediately arises in favor of the genuineness of the remaining three. If the four Gospels were not handed down from the apostolic age, and received in common by succeeding Christians, then at some period after

that age, their respective claims to authority must have come in competition. But, if any one of them were genuine, the authority of *this* had been acknowledged since the times of the apostles. Now we cannot suppose that Christians, accustomed to use a gospel, which they believed, or rather, which, from the nature of the case, they knew, to be genuine, would receive a spurious history of Christ as of equal authority. All their prejudices would have been in favor of the book to which they were accustomed. This, then, being genuine, and the other spurious, the evidence for the former being decisive, and the pretended evidence in favor of the latter, false, there could be little probability, that the new work would be classed with that already received, as a sacred book of the highest value. No probable motive, nor mistake, can be imagined which might have led to so extraordinary a result. This is taking the most obvious view of the subject. But when we further consider the discrepancies between the Gospels, and reflect that the new history must have appeared, in some respects, inconsistent with, and contradictory to, that genuine Gospel, the authority of which was already established, we perceive how incredible it is, that the former would have been placed on a level

with the latter. Without doubt, it would have been rejected. Common policy alone, if it were necessary to recur to such a consideration, would have prevented Christians from giving the same authority to a spurious as to a genuine book, if any discrepancies existed between them; as these discrepancies would expose the whole history to the cavils and objections of unbelievers. It appears, therefore, that if any one of the Gospels be genuine, this circumstance alone goes far to prove that all are genuine. If the evidence for either of the Gospels had been much weaker than that for the other three, its discrepancies from them, if there had been no other cause, would have decided its rejection. The fact that we have four Gospels, which, with all their essential agreement, differ so much from each other, is a very important means of proving the genuineness of all and of any one of them. That these discrepancies should serve to confirm our faith in all that is essential or important in the narrative contained in the Gospels, has been often observed. They show that the writers had each independent means of information. Such discrepancies naturally, and almost necessarily, exist among all original histories of the same events.

We will now pass to another consideration, showing that the Gospels must have been transmitted as genuine from the apostolic age. They are, evidently, the work either of Jewish authors, or of men long conversant among Jews, who were intimately acquainted with every thing relating to that people, who had adopted their belief, their modes of conception, and forms of expression, and who thus had themselves become virtually Jews. But the Gospels descend to us through the Gentile branch of Christians. Now, as has been observed in the *First Part* of this work,* the Jewish and Gentile Christians, from the first admission of the latter into the church, had a strong tendency to separate, and form distinct societies. Hardly held together by the authority of the apostles, they seem to have started asunder, as soon as the power of the apostles was removed. Very soon, the Gentile Christians far outnumbered the Jewish; and the two parties seem to have regarded each other with somewhat the same feelings which

See pp. 82, 83.

had belonged to Jews and Gentiles before the introduction of Christianity. About the close of the second century, we find the Jewish Christians, in general, with, perhaps, some individual exceptions, regarded as heretics, under the name of Ebionites. There is, therefore, a great improbability, that, at any period after the apostolic age, Gentile Christians would have received from Jewish Christians, four spurious histories of Christ, purporting to have been written by apostles, and companions of apostles; and would have deferred with such credulity to their testimony, as to ascribe to these works the character of sacred books. The improbability of this supposition is increased by the fact, that the four Greek Gospels, the works in question, were not in common use among Jewish Christians. They appear to have, at first, made use of the Hebrew original of St. Matthew's Gospel; this afterward becoming much corrupted in their hands. But there is still another circumstance to be considered. The Gospels are evidently the work not merely of Jewish authors, but of *unlearned* Jewish authors, men unskilled in the use of language generally, and of the Greek language in particular. These writings can make no pretension to any merely literary merit. Their Hebraistic style and

idioms, with the peculiar senses given to words, must have obscured their meaning, and made them appear barbarous, to those whose native language was the Greek. Origen informs us, that "the style of the scriptures was regarded by the Greeks as poor and contemptible."* "Literary men," says Lactantius, "when they give their attention to the religion of God, unless they receive their fundamental instruction from some able teacher, do not become believers. For being accustomed to pleasing and polished discourses and poems, they despise as sordid, the simple and common language of the divine writings."† If, therefore, the Gospels had not been genuine, their style and idiom alone would have formed no small obstacle to their reception. Let us now put these circumstances together, and adverting merely to the view of the subject just taken, consider what particulars are necessarily embraced in the supposition, that the Gospels being spurious, obtained general authority after the apostolic age. According to this supposition, while the Jewish and Gentile Christians were regarding each other with but little favor, four spurious works, the production of

* Comment. in Joan. Tom. iv. § 2. Opp. IV. 93.

† Institut. VI. § 21.

illiterate Jewish writers whose names are wholly unknown, the style of which must have been repulsive to Greeks, and which were not in common use among Jewish Christians, and, therefore, not recommended by their authority, whatever weight that might have had; all, in a body, obtained the highest credit, as sacred books, throughout the widely dispersed community of Gentile Christians.

It is acknowledged that the four Gospels were received with the greatest respect, as genuine and sacred books, by catholic Christians, that is, by the great body of Christians, at the end of the second century. But earlier than this time, it has been pretended, that we find no trace of their existence; and hence it has been inferred that before this time, they were not in common use and were but little known, even if extant in their present state.* I shall hereafter produce notices of their existence at a much earlier period. But waving for the present

* See p. 11, seqq.

this consideration, the reasoning appears not a little extraordinary. About the end of the second century, the Gospels were revered as sacred books by a community dispersed over the world, composed of men of different nations and languages. There were, to say the least, sixty thousand copies of them in existence ;* they were read in the churches of Christians ; they were continually quoted, and appealed to, as of the highest authority ; their reputation was as well established among believers from one end of the Roman empire to the other, as it is, at the present day, among Christians in any country. But it is asserted that before that period, we find no trace of their existence ; and it is, therefore, inferred that they were not in common use, and but little known, even if extant in their present form. This reasoning is of the same kind, as if any one were to say, that the first mention of Egyptian Thebes is in the poems of Homer. He, indeed, describes it as a city, which poured a hundred armies from its hundred gates ; but his is the first mention of it, and, therefore, we have no reason to suppose, that before his time, it was a place of any

* See p. 52.

considerable note. The general reception of the Gospels as books of the highest authority, at the end of the second century, necessarily implies their celebrity at a much earlier period, and the long continued operation of causes, sufficient to produce so remarkable a phenomenon.

This phenomenon, it may appear from what has been said, could not have been the result of any combination, nor of fraud, nor accident. Those by whom the Gospels were received as books of the highest value, were men superior, generally, in moral and intellectual qualities, to their contemporaries ; if they were deceived, it was at their peril ; they enjoyed such means of knowledge concerning the history of the Gospels, as might, and, we may truly say, must have removed all doubt, whether they were genuine or not, and in their words and by their lives, they unequivocally affirmed them to be genuine. The first three Gospels, when compared together, present appearances, which, viewed in connexion with the fact of their general reception, admit of no explanation that does not suppose their genuineness. But further ;—from the nature of the case, the Gospels must have made their way to general reception by their intrinsic worth and authority. Four histories of Christ, the work of unlearned Jewish authors, written

in a style which must have appeared barbarous to native Greeks, and regarded by those who held them in the highest respect as presenting discrepancies with each other, which, in the literal sense of their words, were irreconcilable, obtained equal reception throughout the Christian community, from beyond the Euphrates, through Asia Minor, Greece, Egypt, and Italy, to the western coasts of Spain and Africa. They were received as sacred books by portions of this community, who, probably, had never heard of each other's existence. Wherever the religion had spread, they had spread with it. The faith of Christians rested on the belief of their authenticity. Of these facts, no other account can be given, than that those writings were derived from the same sources as the religion itself; and had been handed down with it from the apostolic age, as its authentic records. But if this be so, no reasonable question can be raised respecting their genuineness. It could not be established by any proof more decisive and unsuspicious, than what has just been stated; for it appears as a necessary inference from notorious and indisputable facts.

CHAPTER II.

EVIDENCE TO BE DERIVED FROM THE WRITINGS OF JUSTIN
MARTYR.

IN ascending toward the apostolic age, after the fathers who have been mentioned in the last chapter, we come to Justin Martyr, who flourished about the year 150. He was of Gentile extraction, born in Flavia Neapolis, a city of Samaria, in the latter part of the first, or beginning of the second century. He studied the different systems of Heathen philosophy under several masters. He preferred the Platonic; until he became acquainted with Christianity, which he then embraced, as the only "certain and useful philosophy." He appears to have spent much of his life in travelling. He was twice at Rome, where he remained a considerable time, and where he suffered martyrdom. About the year 150, he addressed a Defence of Christianity to the emperor Antoninus Pius, the Cæsars, Marcus Antoninus and Lucius Verus,

and the Roman senate and people. Not long after, he wrote another work in explanation and defence of Christianity, in the form of a dialogue with an unbelieving Jew, called Trypho. It is doubtful whether the form given to it be wholly fictitious, or whether the work were occasioned by a conference which actually took place. Afterwards, he published, about the year 162, a second Defence of Christianity, addressed to the emperor Marcus Antoninus. His two defences are commonly called Apologies, in reference to the ancient sense of that word; and under this title, therefore, I shall refer to them. Not long after the publication of his last Apology, he suffered martyrdom.

Justin composed other writings which are lost. The three that have been mentioned, if not the only works of his extant, are the principal and most important. There are three other short works of which he was, perhaps, the author.* But they are all addressed to Gentile unbelievers, and contain no reference to any book giving a history of Christ. This is true, likewise, of his second Apology, which is short. It was occasioned by a particular act of persecution at

* Ad Græcos Oratio, Ad Græcos Cohortatio, De Monarchiâ.

Rome, in which three Christians were put to death. Our attention, therefore, is confined to the first Apology, and the Dialogue with Trypho.*

From these works of Justin, might be extracted a brief account of the life and doctrines of Christ, corresponding to that contained in the Gospels; and corresponding to such a degree, both in matter and words, that almost every quotation and reference may be readily assigned to its proper place in one or another of the Gospels. There was, consequently, till within a short period, no doubt entertained that the Gospels were quoted by Justin. The facts just stated, do not fully establish this proposition; but they afford a strong presumption of its truth. To the supposition, however, that Justin quoted our present Gospels, objections have been made, which, as far as they are important, may be reduced to the three following heads.

I. He nowhere designates either of our present Gospels by any title afterwards in use, or

* Of Justin's writings that are lost, some fragments remain, which may be found in the Paris edition of 1742. One of these contains a few quotations from the Gospels; but adds nothing of importance to our information derived from the first Apology and the Dialogue with Trypho.

names the evangelists as the authors whom he quotes. His quotations are taken from what he calls, 'Memoirs by the Apostles;' for so we may translate the title which he gives to the work or works to which he appeals.*

II. There is a great want of verbal coincidence between his quotations, and the corresponding passages in the Gospels.

III. He has passages apparently or professedly taken from the written history of Christ used by him, which are not found in the Gospels.

Two of these passages were to be found in another book, the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which, therefore, it has been supposed by some, was the work used by Justin.†

* Τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν Ἀποστόλων.

† These objections are stated in a dissertation by F. A. Stroth, published in the first volume of Eichhorn's Repertorium, and entitled, *Entdeckte Fragmente des Evangeliums nach den Hebräern in Justin dem Märtyrer, i. e. Fragments of the Gospel according to the Hebrews discovered in Justin Martyr.*—Eichhorn's *Einleitung in d. N. T. I.* 78–106.—Bishop Marsh's *Letters to the anonymous Author of Remarks on Michaelis and his Commentator*, pp. 28–32.—and his *Illustration of his Hypothesis respecting the Origin and Composition of our three first Gospels*, Appendix, pp. 22–79.

I may here notice another objection, which did not seem to me of sufficient weight to be stated in the text. Bishop Marsh (see his *Letters*, p. 29, note, and the Appendix to his *Illustration*, p. 23, seqq.) says, "Ἀπομνημονεύματα, though of the plural number,

The facts stated in the two first objections, admit of sufficient explanation, by attending to the character of Justin's writings, and the circumstances under which they were composed. His quotations are found, as has been said, in his first and longer Apology, and in his Dialogue with Trypho. In the former work, he

denotes in all other instances, of which we have any knowledge, not several works, each written by a different person, but simply *one* work. Thus we not only read of Χριστοῦ Ἀπομνημονεύματα, which are still extant, but of Πτολεμαίου Ἀπομνημονεύματα, &c. as you may see in H. Stephens. When Justin therefore quotes τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀπομνημονεύματα, we should argue from analogy, that he meant likewise a *single* work, to which the apostles in general had contributed." To this, the answer is; 1. That the four Gospels, on account of their intimate connexion with each other, and relation to a common subject, were regarded as forming one work; and there could be no impropriety, therefore, in applying to them a title, such as was, in other cases, given to a single work. Thus they were collectively denominated Εὐαγγέλιον, in the singular. And, 2. that the meaning of Ἀπομνημονεύματα is, 'Narratives of memorable deeds, or sayings;' that having this meaning, it is equally applicable, as a title or description, to one book or to several; and that it would be idle to suppose, that there was any peculiar idiom of the Greek language which confined its use to one. The fact, that in the few instances in which it occurs in profane authors as the title of a book, it is the title of a single work, and not of several, is easily explained. There was, so far as is known, in all antiquity no case, excepting that of the Gospels, of several works concerning an individual being extant, to which collectively this title could be given with propriety.

gives an account of Christ and his ministry, of the doctrines and precepts of his religion, and of the character of his followers. He is, throughout, addressing heathens. We will first, then, consider the manner in which he has described the Gospels (as we believe) in this Apology.* He quotes much from them without any express reference or description, which, however, he has given three times, in the following words.

1. "And the messenger then sent to that virgin announced to her the glad news, saying; 'Behold thou shalt conceive through the Holy Spirit, and bring forth a son, and he shall be the son of the Most High; and thou shalt call his name Jesus; for he shall deliver his people from their sins;' *as those who have written memoirs concerning every thing relating to our Saviour, Jesus Christ, have taught, whom we believe.*"†

2. In giving an account of the Last Supper of our Lord, he says; "*The apostles, in the Me-*

* The order of the Apologies in the older editions being inverted, the first written is often cited as the second; as it is by Eichhorn. This fact, if not explained, might produce some confusion. I call that the first Apology, which was first written, and which is placed first in the later editions; and follow, in quoting, the pages of Thirlby's edition.

† 'Ως οἱ ἀπομνημονεύσαντες πάντα τὰ περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ διδάξαν, οἱ πιστεύουσιν. p. 54.

*moirs composed by them, which are called Gospels, have thus informed us," * &c.*

3. He says; "On the day which is called the day of the sun [Sunday], we all, whether dwelling in cities or in the country, assemble together, when the Memoirs by the Apostles,† or the writings of the Prophets, are read, as long as time permits." He then describes the rest of the service, which consisted in an exhortation, prayer, the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and a contribution for the poor.

If Justin had intended to refer to our present Gospels, it is not easy to perceive how, in addressing a heathen emperor, and heathen readers, he could have described them more clearly than he has done; or afforded more satisfactory proof that these were the works to which he appealed. How early the term, rendered 'Gospel,' came to be applied to a history of Christ, is uncertain. We have no evidence that it was so, long before the time of Justin. In this application, the word was so removed from its original sense, that the meaning put upon it would not have been understood without explanation, by a

* Οἱ γὰρ ἀποστολὴν ἐν ταῖς γυνόμεναις διὰ τούτων ἀπομνημονεύμασιν, ἐκκαλεῖται εὐαγγέλιον, οὕτως παρίδωκεν. p. 96.

† Τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων. p. 97.

native Greek, acquainted only with its common use in his language. If it was perceived to be the title of a book, it would still convey to him no proper and distinct notion of the contents of that book. This, therefore, was not a title to be used without explanation by Justin, in addressing a Roman emperor. Nor would there have been more propriety in his giving the names of the authors of the respective Gospels. Of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, neither the emperor, nor the generality of those heathens who might read his Apology, had, probably, ever heard. The names of four unknown individuals would have carried with them no historical authority. Considering the state of things, at the time when Justin wrote, there would have been something incongruous, and almost ludicrous, in quoting by name 'The Gospel according to Matthew,' or 'The Gospel according to Luke,' in an address to the Roman emperor and senate. The object of Justin in appealing to any history of Christ was to show, that his own statements rested upon authority acknowledged by those in whose name he spoke. It was necessary, therefore, for him to describe those books in words which would be understood, and which would show, at the same time, how they were esteemed by Christians. This is

what he has done. He calls them ‘Memoirs by the Apostles.’ The description was of the kind which his purpose required, and was sufficiently correct ; for though only two of the Gospels were written by apostles, the other two, according to the universal sentiment of antiquity, were considered as carrying with them apostolic authority ; being sanctioned by apostles, and containing only narratives derived from them. We shall presently perceive, that on another occasion he expressed himself with perfect accuracy.

In his Dialogue with Trypho, Justin defends and maintains Christianity against the objections of the unbelieving Jews. Like his Apologies, therefore, this work was intended to be read by unbelievers, and by unbelievers, who, as appears from a passage to be hereafter quoted, might never have heard the names of the evangelists. In speaking of the Gospels, Justin, accordingly, pursues the same course as in his Apology. But in this Dialogue, we find the following passage : “In those Memoirs,” says Justin, “which I affirm to have been composed by apostles of Christ and their companions, it is written, that sweat, like drops of blood, flowed from him while he was praying.” No description of the four Gospels could be more precise than what is here given. They are described as ‘Memoirs of

Christ composed by apostles and their companions.' * That companions of the apostles are

* "Α φημι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνους παρακολουθησάντων συντελέσθαι (p. 361), I have rendered, as is proper, without the article. Bishop Marsh, however, observes (in a note to his Letters, p. 30), that "Memoirs drawn up by *the* apostles, and *the* attendants of them, (for you must not neglect the article,) can never mean Gospels, written by *two* apostles, and *two* attendants of apostles, whereas the title is very well adapted to a single work drawn up by the attendants of the apostles from their communications" This remark, which is repeated and insisted upon by him in the Appendix to his Illustration (p. 26), appears to have arisen from inattention to a common use of the definite article, both in Greek and English. It is often prefixed to a plural noun without any intention of indicating, that the proposition made is to be understood of the whole or of a majority of those denoted by the noun; as we say, for instance, 'The ancients have produced the finest works of statuary.' Thus in turning over the leaves of Justin, the following examples present themselves. Speaking of the images of the heathen gods, he says (p. 13), Τί γὰρ δεῖ εἰδέναι ὑμῖν λίγην ἢ εὐθὺς ὅτι 'ΟΙ τεχνῆται διατίθασιν; "Why should I tell you who know, to what processes *the* artists subject their materials?" There is no previous mention of artists to account for the insertion of the article; yet neither all, nor a majority of artists, are meant, but those only employed in making images of the gods.—Again, Justin thus quotes the Sermon on the Mount (p. 23); "If ye love those who love you, what do ye that is new? καὶ γὰρ 'ΟΙ πόρνοι τοῦτο ποιῶσιν; Where Justin has 'ΟΙ πόρνοι, Matthew has 'ΟΙ πωλοῦνται, and Luke 'ΟΙ ἁμαρτωλοί; but, in neither case, is it intended, by this use of the article, to affirm, that all or the generality of the classes spoken of love those who love them. This is not what is to be understood as in the mind of him who uses the words. The meaning is, that even persons (*some* persons) of the character mentioned

here named by Justin serves especially to prove, that he referred to our present Gospels, when we

love those who love them. The appellatives should be rendered without the article.—In another place, observing upon the dramatic style of the Jewish prophets, he subjoins (p. 57); 'Ὁσαύτως καὶ ἐν τοῖς Τῶν παρ' ἑμῶν συγγραφεῖσι τοῦτο ἔστιν, "Which is such as you may see even in your own writers;" that is, not in all the heathen writers, but even in some who belonged to this class.—Again (p. 59), "All which things were done by the Jews (ἐν τοῖς Τῶν Ἰουδαίων) to Christ."—Once more (p. 112) 'Οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι γυναικῶν μύησιν ἀπεκάλυψαν.—But it is scarcely necessary to produce examples of a use of the article which is so common. It occurs when the act or quality spoken of is regarded as resulting from the common character of those designated by the appellative, or as directed, seconded, or approved by them;—or when the particular individuals intended are viewed rather in their generic than in their individual character;—or when, not merely prior mention, but any circumstance, has separated them in the mind from the class to which they belong, and given definiteness to the conception of them; as when it is said, "By this sin fell the angels;" meaning those of the angels who did fall, and whose story at once recurs to the mind. But whether the article in such cases may or may not be inserted with propriety, often depends upon accidental circumstances; and it, therefore, cannot always be rendered with correctness, from one language into another, even when both languages have, in general, a similar use of it. This is the case in the passage which has led to these remarks. In this passage, its use may be explained upon any one of the three principal grounds just mentioned. We must here either understand Justin as meaning, that the Memoirs of which he speaks had for their composers, in some sense or other, all, or the generality of the apostles and of their companions; or we must understand him, according to the usage of the article just explained, to intend that they were written

further attend to the fact, that the passage which he immediately quotes, is found only in the Gospel of St. Luke, who was a companion of the apostles. In another place,* a little after, Justin speaks of our Saviour's changing the name of Peter, "as it is written in his Memoirs;" and likewise of his giving to James and John the name of *Boanerges*.† By his Memoirs, according to Justin's constant use of language, we must understand Memoirs of which Peter may be regarded as the author.‡ But it was the opinion

by some among the apostles, and some among their companions. Bishop Marsh regards the Memoirs as a single book; but a single book with such a multiplicity of authors, as he supposes, would be so unique in the mode of its composition, that one cannot readily believe in its existence. Admitting, however, that a book so very curious, and so very important, was quoted by Justin, and was, in his day, read in Christian churches as the authentic history of Christ; it must be acknowledged, that it is mentioned, at least with respect, by no writer after him; and the supposition that such a book should have fallen into neglect, is far more incredible than even the supposed mode of its composition.

The passage under consideration is of sufficient importance to furnish an excuse for the length of this note. When properly understood it is almost decisive of the question before us. It is remarkable that there is no attempt to explain it in consistency with their theory by either Stroth or Eichhorn.

* P. 365.

† Comp. Mark iii. 17.

‡ As *'Αποστόλων* elsewhere when governed by *'Αποστολικήματα*

of the ancients, that St. Mark's Gospel was essentially the narrative of St. Peter, and thus entitled to apostolic authority. The mention of the surname given to James and John is to be found in no other Gospel.

The explanation which has been given of the fact, that Justin does not mention the evangelists by name, is confirmed by a passage before referred to. He believed that the Apocalypse was written by St. John; and in defending the doctrine of a Millenium, after quoting passages from the Old Testament, he appeals to that work in the following terms; "And a man of our own number, by name John, one of the apostles of Christ, in the revelation which was made by him, has prophesied that the believers in our Christ shall spend a thousand years in Jerusalem; and that after this, will be, to speak briefly, the general and eternal resurrection and judgment of all men together." * With the exception of St. Paul, there was probably no one

denotes the authors and not the subjects of these Memoirs, so in this passage, the genitive *αὐτοῦ* must refer to him, who was regarded, in a certain sense, as the author of the work in question, namely, Peter, and not to the subject of the work, Christ. Justin nowhere uses the expression, *Ἀποκάλυψις τοῦ Χριστοῦ*.

* Page 315.

of the early disciples, whose name was more likely to be known to unbelievers, than that of St. John ; yet we see in what manner he is here mentioned. It is easy to perceive how little advantage or propriety there would have been in Justin's quoting the evangelists by name, when addressing those to whom their names were unknown. Nor was there any cause why with the purpose which he had in view in any of his remaining works, he should be careful to distinguish between what he took from one evangelist, and what from another. He regarded all as of equal authority. There was, therefore, no reason why he should specify the different evangelists by name in quoting their Gospels. There was scarcely even a suitable occasion for him to do so.

II. We come now to the second objection, the want of verbal coincidence between the quotations of Justin, and the corresponding passages in the Gospels. In order to understand the precise force of this objection, it should be premised, that in the quotations in question, the language answers in great part to that of the evangelists ; but that the cases are comparatively rare, in which a series of words of any considerable length runs strictly parallel with the corresponding passage in the Gospels.

There is commonly a change or omission of one or more words, or an alteration in the construction or arrangement.* Respecting the objection, as thus explained, it may first be remarked, that it seems to proceed upon a false assumption concerning the degree of accuracy generally to be found in the quotations of the fathers, in cases where no particular circumstance operated to produce it. Strict verbal coincidence between their citations from scripture, and the text of the original, is not to be confidently expected, except under conditions which do not apply to Justin's citations from the Gospels. The fathers may be presumed to have quoted verbally in their commentaries; because they must be supposed to have written with the volume, on which they were commenting, open before them. There is a presumption, likewise, that they were often accurate in their controversial writings; as it is obviously proper, when a doctrine is to be proved or disproved by the

* For a specimen of Justin's quotations, see Additional Note, E. All his quotations corresponding to passages in the Gospels are professedly collected by Stroth, p. 41, seqq. and are copied from him by Eichhorn, who has likewise given, side by side, the passages in the Gospels, for the sake of convenience in comparing them. Einleit. I. 515, seqq.

scriptures, to produce the passages appealed to in the very words of the original. They sometimes give proof of quoting verbally by remarking upon the various readings of a passage. One father, likewise, from habits of critical study of the scriptures, is frequently correct, while another is more inaccurate. Origen, for example, quotes, generally, with much closer adherence to the text, than Clement of Alexandria, of whom it has been remarked, that "he not unfrequently cites from memory ; and gives rather the sense than the words of the sacred writers." * But in many of the works of the fathers, there is, very commonly, a want of verbal coincidence similar to that found in Justin's quotations from the Gospels. The other fathers, like Justin, quote from memory, carelessly substituting one synonymous word or clause for another, transposing the order of words and thoughts, omitting parts of a passage, paraphrasing, inserting their own explanations, expressing the meaning in their own language, and blending together passages, which stand remote from each other in the scriptures. To express the same thing differently, the fathers, in those writings which

* Griesbach. *Symbol. Crit.* Tom. II. p. 285.

did not call for, or give occasion to, particular verbal accuracy, often made use of the thoughts and language of the scriptures, as modern writers are accustomed to do in similar compositions.* It may be added, that accuracy of quotation seems to have been less regarded by ancient writers, in general, than by modern; a circumstance probably arising from the greater difficulty in procuring and in consulting books. It has been remarked, for instance, that Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in his rhetorical works often quotes the same passage differently; and that, particularly, he has long citations from Isocrates repeated, sometimes more than once, with variations.† We may mention as another example, the well known fact of the want of exactness in the quotations from the Old Testament, contained in the Gospels and Epistles.

But beside the false assumption just stated, respecting the general accuracy of the fathers, the objection, we are considering, rests for support upon an express assertion respecting Justin

* See Heinsius's *Prolegomena in Exercitationes Sacras*; Schleusner's *Observationes*, prefixed to his *Opuscula Critica ad Vers. Græc. V. T. pertinentia*; and Le Clerc's *Epistola*, prefixed to Kuster's edition of Mill's Greek Testament.

† Vide Matthæi Nov. Test. Græcè. Tom. I. p. 690. n. 13.

in particular. It has been said that "Justin is extremely accurate as to the *words* of his quotations ;" * and this assertion has been repeated in different forms. If Justin had been extremely accurate in his quotations from other books, then there might have been a reasonable doubt whether the Memoirs of the Apostles were the four Gospels, on account of the want of verbal agreement between his quotations and the text of the Gospels. But the assertion quoted is singularly erroneous. Justin's frequent want of accuracy in his quotations generally, has been remarked in strong language by the commentators on his writings.† There is a great want of verbal coincidence with the original in many of his quotations from the Septuagint. He alters and transposes the language, in the modes mentioned in the last paragraph. He brings together detached passages from the same or from different books, giving them in connexion, as if they followed each other in the original; it is not uncommon for him to commit the error of ascribing to one Prophet the words of another ;

* Marsh's Letters, p. 31. note. Comp. Appendix to Illustration, p. 32, seqq.

† See Thirlby's edition, pp. 75, 92, 166, 180.

and he has even, apparently through indistinct recollection, and the confounding of different things together, quoted the Pentateuch, once expressly, and once by implication, for facts nowhere to be found in the Old Testament. I have noticed in his Apologies and Dialogue seven quotations from Plato. There is one of them, consisting only of four words in the original, which would be verbally accurate, if Justin had not inserted a particle. None of the others is so; and there is none of any length in which there is not much discrepance of language. He quotes likewise from Xenophon, the story of the choice of Hercules, giving it in his own words, without regard to those of the original.*

It is true that many of Justin's quotations from the Septuagint, in the Dialogue with Trypho, correspond closely to the text of the original. But their difference in this respect from his other quotations in his first Apology and Dialogue is easily explained. Many of those referred to are of such length, as, at first view, to render it improbable that he trusted to his memory, as on other occasions. They consist of a

* For particulars in proof of the preceding statements, see Additional Note, E.

whole Psalm, for instance, or a long series of verses, and are verbally correct, or nearly so, because he recurred to the volume, and transcribed them. In his Dialogue with Trypho, he is reasoning in controversy with a Jew from passages of the Old Testament ; and this circumstance would lead him to pay particular attention to accuracy in citing it. For his quotations from the Septuagint, he had one invariable archetype ; while, on the contrary, the same facts or discourses were often recorded in different terms in each of the first three Gospels. This diversity would tend to prevent a distinct and accurate impression of any particular form of words from being left on the memory ; and would, at the same time, seem to prove it unimportant to adhere closely to the language of either of the evangelists.

It seemed proper to enter into the preceding explanations, in order to show the sources of the erroneous reasoning respecting the quotations of Justin. But the fact that he did not cite the work or works, which he entitles *Memoirs*, with verbal accuracy, admits of decisive proof. In at least seventeen instances, he has repeated the same quotation. Now if he had cited with verbal accuracy, every quotation, when repeated, must have agreed with itself. But this is far

from being the case. Passing over what may be considered as slight and trifling variations, we find, that in more than half of them, as repeated, there is a striking want of correspondence, either in the words themselves, or in their connexion with other words quoted.* To account for this, it has been suggested,† that he used the Gospel of the Hebrews, in the original, and rendered from it into Greek, differently at different times. But, if the supposition of his having used this gospel were in itself tenable, which, as we shall hereafter see, it is not, still the discrepancies in most of the instances referred to, are such as could not have arisen from mere difference of translation. Nothing, it would seem, can be said, either to illustrate, or to set aside, the inference from these facts. The conclusion, that Justin did not quote the *Memoirs* used by him, with verbal accuracy, appears so incontrovertible, that it may well strike us as a singular phenomenon, that an hypothesis should have been built upon the opposite supposition.

There was no special reason why Justin, in composing such works as he did, should regard

* See Additional Note, E.

† Marsh's Illustration, Appendix, p. 74, note.

verbal accuracy in quoting the Gospels. Finding the same facts and the same sayings presented by different evangelists in different words, it would have been superstitious precision, if in addressing a Roman emperor, or Jewish unbelievers, he had thought it necessary to transcribe the exact words of either of the Gospels, in the exact order in which they stood. He quotes from memory ; for the occasion was rarely such that his memory might not safely be trusted. Designing to give a general view of the history and character of Christianity, he brings together passages, not conjoined in the original ; because it was suitable to his purpose to do so. The language of a quotation from one evangelist is sometimes colored by expressions derived from another ; or from a different part of the Gospel quoted. In addition, Justin seems to have sometimes changed the words or the construction of the original, for the purpose of avoiding a Hebraism, or some other form of expression which a native Greek would regard as barbarous or incorrect. All that has been stated was reasonably to be expected in such works as he composed.

Justin's works were addressed to unbelievers ; and we suppose that their character and purpose sufficiently account for his not having mentioned

the evangelists by name ; and for his want of verbal accuracy in quoting their writings. This supposition will be confirmed by an examination of the writings of later fathers, addressed in like manner to unbelievers. They resemble the works of Justin in the particulars just mentioned. The following are examples.

Tatian was a disciple of Justin. He composed a Diatessaron, or history of our Saviour, derived from the four Gospels. The fact has been disputed ; but for reasons so insufficient, that there is little hazard in assuming it as true. He published, likewise, a work still extant, entitled *An Oration to the Greeks* ; but in this work, no Gospel is quoted by that title, nor is the name of either of the evangelists mentioned. He thus cites a passage from St. John ; “ This is what has been said, *The darkness comprehendeth not the light.*” He quotes likewise another passage from John, but not with verbal accuracy.*

Athenagoras was contemporary with Irenæus. He published an Apology for Christians addressed to Marcus Aurelius, and his son, Commodus. He makes no express mention of the Gospels, nor does he name the evangelists. He has

* John i. 3. p. 261.—i. 5. p. 255. ed. Paris. 1742.

four quotations from St. Matthew's Gospel, none of which is perfectly accurate.*

Of Theophilus we have before had occasion to speak, as affording in his work addressed to Autolycus, an unbeliever, important evidence of the general reception of the Gospels at an early period. With Autolycus, it appears that he was personally acquainted, and that he had, before writing, been engaged with him in oral discussion of their differences of religious faith. Theophilus once mentions the Gospels under that title; and elsewhere uses the term Gospel, in the singular, probably to denote the Christian doctrine as taught in the Gospels.† As we have formerly seen, he once quotes St. John by name; but he does not mention the name of any other evangelist. From St. John he has one short quotation; which agrees in words with the original. He has three from St. Matthew, and perhaps one from St. Luke,‡ in none of which is

* Matth. v. 28. p. 309.—v. 44. p. 288.—v. 46. p. 289.—xix. 9. p. 311. ed. Paris. 1742.

† See pp. 118, 119.

‡ Matth. v. 28 and xix. 9. blended together, the order of the clauses in the last verse being inverted. Lib. iii. § 13. p. 388. Matth. v. 44, 46, the 45th verse being omitted; and vi. 3. Lib. iii. § 14. p. 389. Luke xviii. 27. Lib. ii. § 13. p. 358. ed. Paris. 1742.

there a strict verbal correspondence. He was equally inattentive with Justin, to verbal accuracy; as appears not merely in his quotations from the Gospels, but also in many passages which he has borrowed from other books of the New Testament. After giving several of them, Lardner observes; "These, with many other passages, afford full proof, that the ancient Christian writers often quoted, or alluded to, texts of the New Testament, by memory, without looking into the books themselves." In ancient times, the unrolling of a volume to find a particular passage, must have taken more time, and given more trouble, than the simple opening of a book in modern days.

Though the Gospels are so abundantly quoted by Tertullian, in his other works, yet they are not mentioned by that title, nor are the evangelists named, either in his *Apology for Christianity*, or in the two books of his work, "*To the Nations*." In his *Apology*, he refers to them in the following terms. "Let those of you, who think that we care nothing for the safety of the emperors, examine the words of God, our literature, which we are far from concealing, and which many accidents throw in the way of those not of our number. Let him thence learn, that we are commanded, in the exercise of overflowing be-

nevolence, even to pray God for our enemies ; and to ask blessings for our persecutors." *

Minutius Felix was, probably, contemporary with Tertullian. He became, with his friend Octavius, a convert to Christianity, and wrote a defence of it, in the form of a dialogue, in which he represents Octavius, as a principal speaker. The dialogue, in consequence, bears the name of the latter. It contains no express quotations of the books of scripture. Neither the Gospels nor the evangelists are named in it.

Cyprian flourished about the middle of the third century. Among other works, he has left a tract in defence of Christianity, addressed to Demetrian, a heathen and an enemy of our religion. In this he does not name the Gospels nor the evangelists. But he is censured by Lactantius for his citing scripture as he has done, in a work addressed to a heathen.† His quotations are principally from the Old Testament. He has three from the Gospels, which he quotes as ' words uttered by our Lord,' ' said by Christ,' and ' words of sacred scripture.' ‡

* Cap. 31.

† Institut. Lib. V. § 4.

‡ Cypriani Opp. ed. Baluz. pp. 216, 224.

Arnobius, about the beginning of the fourth century, having become a convert to Christianity, wrote his work, in seven books, "Against the Gentiles." "He has not," says Lardner, "expressly quoted any books of the Old or New Testament." Speaking particularly of those of the New Testament, Lardner adds; he was certainly well acquainted with them; "though he did not think fit to quote them expressly in his books against the Gentiles." In giving accounts of our Lord's miracles, continues the same writer, "as he goes along in his argument, he refers to writers and writings which he calls ours." He also describes these writers as eye witnesses.* But this mode of referring to the Gospels is obviously far less explicit than that of Justin.

Lactantius is said to have been the disciple of Arnobius. In his old age, he became the preceptor of Crispus, the son of Constantine, the same, who was afterwards put to death by his father. He composed a learned, able, and eloquent work, called *Divine Institutes*, in which he argues against the religion and philosophy of the heathen world; and contrasting them with

* Lardner's *Credibility*, P. II. c. 64.

Christianity, shows the value and necessity of the latter. Like Justin, he gives a sort of summary of the life of Christ; appealing once, indirectly, to the sacred writings, as his authority.* He has other references and allusions to the Gospels; but he does not mention them by that title, nor give the name of any one of the evangelists but St. John.†

These examples show that Justin, in his writings, pursued the same course as was adopted by later fathers, in their works addressed to unbelievers. Of all those who have been mentioned, however, Justin is, by far, the most abundant in his quotations from the Gospels; and by far the most explicit in describing the character of these histories.

III. We now proceed to the last objection. It is, that Justin has passages, apparently or professedly, taken from the history or histories of Christ, used by him, which are not found in the Gospels. To this, some have added, that two, or perhaps three, of these passages were to be found in the Gospel of the Hebrews, which, therefore, was, probably, the work that he used.

* Lib. IV. § 14. seqq. et § 26.

† St. John is named, Lib. IV. § 8.

The first answer to this objection is, that with but one exception, which presents no considerable difficulty, the passages referred to are not professedly taken by Justin, from the Memoirs used by him, or from any other book. That they are not found in the Gospels, can therefore afford no proof that Justin did not elsewhere quote the Gospels. It must be remembered, that he lived near the times of the apostles; and that there would be nothing strange in his having learnt by tradition, or from some writing or writings, then extant, but since lost, a few facts respecting our Saviour, not recorded by the evangelists. From either source, accordingly, we may suppose him to have derived one or two circumstances which he mentions. In other passages, he has probably done nothing more than express, in different terms, his conception of the meaning of the evangelists, sometimes dilating it a little, and blending with it his own inferences. The only passages, of any curiosity or importance, are the following. Four others have been brought forward, which are observed upon in the note below.*

* See Stroth's Dissertation, p. 14 seqq. and p. 21 seqq. Marsh's Letters, pp. 31, 32, note. Illustration, Appendix,

1. Justin says, that the Jews who witnessed the miracles performed by Jesus, "said that they

p. 68 seqq. Eichhorn's Introduction to the New Testament, pp. 93—95. 101.

To those which I have noticed in the text, Stroth, and Eichhorn following him, have added four more; one of which is the third on p. 93 of Eichhorn's Introduction. This is founded upon a mistake, namely, the blending of the last words of a parenthesis with those immediately following it. The parenthesis, which is obviously required by the sense, is marked in the only editions which I have at hand. See Thirlby's, p. 365, and the Paris edition of 1742 (by Prudentius Maranus) p. 200. The passage stands p. 333, ed. Steph.

Another of the passages is likewise incorrectly quoted, as may be seen by comparing it with the original; but not so as *essentially* to affect the present question. Justin (Dial. cum Tryph. p. 382 seqq.) is applying, as typical of Christ, the third chapter of Zechariah, in which Joshua [Jesus] the high priest is described as standing before the angel of God together with Satan. The angel, according to him, represents the power of God manifested in Christ; the high-priest, Christians, "who through Jesus are as one man." From Satan, from their former sins, and the punishment of those sins, Christians are delivered by "Jesus the Son of God;" "*he has promised to clothe us in garments prepared for us, if we do his commands; and has declared that he will provide for us an eternal kingdom.*" (p. 385.) The words in italics are those which Stroth and Eichhorn suppose Justin to have taken from some gospel different from those we now possess. But the figurative language in which the promise is expressed, is borrowed from and has reference to the passage on which Justin is commenting. See Zechariah iii. 4, 5, 7. It may be added, that the promise expressed in this very figure, is repeatedly *implied* in the Apocalypse, with which Justin was acquainted.

were a magical delusion ; and dared to call him a magician, and a deceiver of the people." *

Again, Justin (*Dial. cum Tryph.* p. 241.) says, that *Christ declared that he must suffer much from the Scribes and Pharisees, and be crucified, and rise again on the third day, and again be present in Jerusalem, and then drink and eat again with his disciples* ; and he foretold that in the interval before his coming, there would be heresies and false teachers in his name ; and so it appears there are." The words in italics are those quoted by Stroth and Eichhorn. The last clause of their quotation is the only part of it that can be regarded as presenting any difficulty. In this clause, in which Christ is represented as speaking of drinking and eating with his disciples after his second coming, Justin, who was a Millenarian, and believed in a temporal kingdom of Christ, to commence with his second coming, merely puts his own interpretation upon Luke xxii, 16, 18.

In the passage just quoted, instead of *ἀκούει* I read *αἰσθάνει*, an alteration required by the sense, which is proposed by Thirlby, and approved by Maranus.

In the fourth place, Justin (*Dial. cum Tryph.* p. 206) ascribes to Christ the words ; "There shall be divisions and parties." They are introduced by him among a series of predictions uttered by our Saviour, and recorded in different parts of St. Matthew's Gospel, respecting false teachers. Justin probably meant to give the sense of what our Saviour foretold, rather than his words. His composition is often colored by conceptions and expressions borrowed from the Epistles ; and he may here have had in mind the words of St. Paul, 1 Corinthians xi. 18, 19. Or from a failure of memory, such as he has repeatedly shown in his quotations from the Old Testament, he may have had an indistinct recollection of the words of St. Paul, with an apprehension of their having been uttered by Christ.

* *Dial. cum Tryph.* p. 288.

Justin has here only stated in different language, facts recorded by the evangelists, who relate that the enemies of Christ said, that he cast out devils by Beelzebub ; * and that he deceived the people.† Lactantius expresses himself in the same manner as Justin. “He performed wonderful things,” says that writer ; “we might have thought him a magician, as you now think him, and as the Jews then thought him ; if all the prophets, inspired by the same spirit, had not predicted that the Messiah would perform those very things.” ‡

2. Justin says, that “Christ being regarded as a carpenter (or worker in wood), did make, while among men, ploughs and yokes, thus setting before them symbols of righteousness, and teaching an active life.” §

It may be doubted, whether Justin was acquainted with any narrative to this effect. In the Gospel of St. Mark, the Nazarenes, according to the Common Version, are represented as asking concerning Jesus ; “Is not this the carpenter ?” || The word rendered “carpenter,”

* Matth. xii. 24, and elsewhere.

† John vii. 12. Here the words are expressly used ; but the whole Gospel-history leaves no doubt that the charge was brought against Christ by his enemies.

‡ Institut. V. § 3. § Dial. cum Tryph. p. 333. || Mark vi. 3.

Justin, it appears, understood as denoting, a worker in wood. This, in fact, is probably its true meaning in this passage. He may, therefore, have mentioned the particular implements, which he does, because he regarded their fabrication as part of the proper business of a worker in wood.

3. Justin says, that "when Christ was born at Bethlehem, as Joseph could find no room in any inn in that village, he lodged in a certain cave, near the village; and while they were there, Mary brought forth the Messiah, and laid him in a stall." *

It is not said, either by Matthew or Luke, that our Saviour was born in a cave; but there was a prevailing tradition to this effect, which is found in many of the fathers besides Justin, and which there seems little reason for questioning. At the present day, in the East, caves are often used for stables. Origen states, that "conformably to the account in the Gospel-history of the birth of Christ, there is shown the cave in Bethlehem, in which he was born; and in the cave, the stall where he was swathed; and the place which is shown is famous in that neighbourhood,

* Dial. cum Tryph. p. 306. Comp. Luke ii. 7.

even among those who are aliens from the faith, on the ground, that in this cave, was born that Jesus, whom Christians revere and venerate.” *

The three following passages are those relied on to show, that Justin quoted the Gospel of the Hebrews; particularly the first two of them.

4. Justin twice † gives the words, *Thou art my son; this day have I begotten thee*, as those uttered at our Saviour’s baptism. Here the character of the quotation, and the manner in which it is introduced in one passage where it occurs, leave no doubt, that Justin intended to quote the Memoirs by the Apostles. The words are not in either of the four Gospels; but they were found by Epiphanius in the Gospel of the Ebionites, which was a corrupted form of the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

In the Gospel of the Ebionites, the passage referred to, as preserved by Epiphanius, ran thus; “And there was a voice from Heaven, saying, *Thou art my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased*, and again, *This day have I begotten thee.*” ‡

* Cont. Cels. Lib. I. § 51. Opp. I. 367.

† Dial. cum Tryph. p. 333 et p. 361.

‡ Hæres. XXX. 13. Opp. I. 138.

But the words which Justin alleges as uttered at the baptism of our Saviour, are given as so uttered by several other ancient writers, whose acquaintance with, and constant use of the four Gospels is well known. They are found in Clement of Alexandria, Methodius, Hilary, Lactantius, and Juvenius. Augustin states that these words were the reading of some manuscripts, though not, it was said, of the most ancient Greek copies, upon Luke iii. 22. and they are still found in the Cambridge manuscript, and in several Latin manuscripts.*

This, then, is nothing more than an error common to Justin with many others. It seems to have had its origin in a confusion of memory; the words in question being applied to our Saviour repeatedly in the New Testament.† In the Gospel of the Ebionites, which, it is agreed, was grossly corrupted from its original form, whatever that may have been, they have evidently the appearance of an interpolation. That they were extant in the Gospel of the Hebrews in any of its forms, we have no

* See Thirlby's note, p. 333, and Griesbach's *Nov. Test.* Luke iii. 22.

† Acts, xiii. 33. Hebrews, i. 5.—v. 5.

proof earlier than that furnished by Epiphanius, who lived about two hundred years after Justin. There is, therefore, no ground for believing that they were found in this gospel, as it existed in the time of Justin.

5. The next passage, likewise, relates to the baptism of our Saviour. Justin says, "When Jesus came to the river Jordan where John was baptizing, upon his entering the water, a fire was kindled in the Jordan; and the apostles of this same person, our Messiah, have written that when he came out of the water, the Holy Spirit, like a dove, alighted upon him.*

* Καταβύνας τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ πῦρ ἀνέφθη ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ, καὶ ἀναβύνας αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος, ὡς περιεστῆναι τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἑλισσόμενον ἐπ' αὐτὸν, ἔγραψαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι αὐτοῦ τούτου τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡμῶν. (Dial. cum Tryph. p. 331.) I have before observed (p. 209), that Justin has professedly taken but one of the passages, under consideration, from the Memoirs used by him, or from any other book. I referred to the passage last observed upon. But it has been contended that in the one now before us, Justin must be understood as quoting the Memoirs by the Apostles for the account of a fire having been kindled upon the Jordan, the only part of the passage which presents any difficulty. "We might have safely inferred," says Bishop Marsh (Letters, p. 32. note), "that he took it from the Memoirs of the Apostles, even if he had not mentioned his source. But the addition of ἔγραψαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι puts the matter out of doubt; for this expression is too closely connected with the whole sentence, to admit of being restricted to the latter clause alone." I reply, that the rendering given

According to Justin, "*as Jesus entered the water a fire was kindled in the Jordan.*"

above is such as the grammatical construction *demand*s. Notwithstanding this, as writers do express themselves incorrectly and ungrammatically, I should readily admit, if there were any considerations to show that Justin intended to quote the words in question from the Memoirs, that these considerations ought to be regarded, and might even determine the sense of the passage in opposition to its grammatical construction. But the context affords none whatever.

In what precedes the passage, Justin is explaining at length what he supposes to be meant by 'the Spirit of God resting upon Jesus.' In relation to this subject, he quotes the account of the descent of the Holy Spirit upon Jesus, and gives his authority for it. The mention of the appearance of fire upon the Jordan is merely incidental, and has nothing to do with his immediate purpose. For this, therefore, it was unnecessary to quote any authority.

But if Justin had expressly referred to the Memoirs used by him for the fact in question, this circumstance would have admitted of various explanations. He might have possessed a copy of one of the Gospels, in which a short clause, containing the mention of the fire on the Jordan, had been inserted; the clause having been first written as a note in one copy, and afterwards, by a common mistake, taken into the text of another. The mention of a light shining round about from the water is, at the present day, extant in two Latin manuscripts, being inserted between the fifteenth and sixteenth verses of the third chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel.—Or the fact stated by Justin might have been a traditional explanation of the words of the evangelists, in which they relate that 'the heavens were opened.' Of these words, the most probable meaning is, that the firmament appeared to open, and light to shine from the depths of heaven. Livy (Lib. XXII. c. 1), in describing a supposed phenomenon of

The passage in the Gospel of the Ebionites which he is supposed to have quoted, states that '*after Jesus had come out of the water, a great light shone round about the place.*'* The resemblance is not striking; and there seems to be some inconsistency in maintaining, that Justin did not quote the four Gospels, because he does not quote them with verbal accuracy; and at the same time affirming that he did cite a passage which is so little in harmony with his own state-

a similar kind, says that "the heaven appeared to be rent with a wide chasm, and where it was opened, a great light shone forth." I quote this passage to show what conceptions were probably connected with the expression, 'the heavens were opened,' as it occurs in the evangelists.—Or Justin might have referred to the Memoirs by the Apostles for the fact mentioned by him, though he had really derived it from a different source; through an error of memory, similar to others in his writings. As I have before observed, he twice refers to the Pentateuch for the mention of supposed facts, not to be found there. But no one, in consequence, imagines, that he had a set of the books of Moses, different from those which we possess.—If then Justin had actually quoted the Memoirs by the Apostles for the fact in question, it would go but a little way to prove that those Memoirs were not the four Gospels. I make these remarks with a view to the opinion maintained by Bishop Marsh, that the two clauses in the sentence under consideration are so closely connected, that the reference to the Memoirs by the Apostles does not admit of being restricted to the last clause alone.

* Epiphaniî Hæres. XXX. 13. Opp. I. 138.

ment. Justin perhaps derived his account from oral tradition. If he found it in any writing, it may have been in one commonly called the *Preaching of Peter*; in which it was said that "when Jesus was baptized, fire was seen upon the water." * This book, there is little doubt, was extant as early as the time of Justin; which cannot be said of the gospel of the Ebionites, in the form in which it was seen by Epiphanius.†

* See Thirlby's note, p. 331. *Grabii Spicilegium*. I. 69.

† To account in some degree for the discrepancy between this quotation of Justin, and the passage of the Gospel of the Ebionites, as preserved by Epiphanius, Bishop Marsh supposes (in the Appendix to his *Illustration*, p. 70), that Justin and Epiphanius both translated from the Hebrew original of that gospel; and that the same Hebrew word אור was rendered by the one, *light*, and by the other, *fire*. This conjecture, if it could be admitted, would remove only a part of the difficulty. But I trust that it will be made apparent that Justin did not translate from any Hebrew gospel.

If we were to apply to the quotation last examined the rules of judging, which have been adopted in comparing Justin's quotations with the text of the Gospels, it is clear that it would prove, not that he did, but that he did not, quote the Gospel of the Ebionites. The same is true of the quotation, relating to the voice uttered from heaven at our Saviour's baptism. There is in this a want of verbal sameness; for Justin not only omits the epithet 'beloved' in the words; "Thou art my *beloved* son;" but likewise, one of the two declarations which the gospel in question represented as uttered.

There is still another passage, in which we have an opportunity of comparing the accounts of Justin, with the fragments of

6. The following is the only remaining passage ; “ Accordingly,” are the words of Justin, “ our Lord Jesus Christ said, ‘ In whatever actions I apprehend you, by those I will judge you.’ ” *

It is a mere conjecture that these words were taken from the Gospel according to the Hebrews ; as there is no evidence whatever that they were contained in that book. They are found, with some variety of form, in many ancient Christian writers ; but Justin is the only one who appears to ascribe them to Christ. Clement of Alexandria gives them as the words of God ; † a writer of the sixth century, Johannes Climacus, ascribes them to Ezekiel ; and a

the Gospel of the Ebionites ; and here the discrepancy is really of such a nature as to prove that Justin could not have quoted it in the form in which it was seen by Epiphanius, from whom alone we have any knowledge of its peculiarities. Epiphanius (Opp. I. 138) states that, according to the Gospel of the Ebionites, the food of John the Baptist “ was wild honey, the taste of which was that of manna, like a honey cake with oil ; ” (as the taste of manna is described, Exod. xvi. 31, and Numb. xi. 8) ; and charges the Ebionites with having made *tyngidus* (honey cakes) out of *angidus* (locusts). On the contrary, Justin (Dial. cum Tryph. p. 332), following the Gospels, says simply, that the food of John was “ locusts and wild honey.”

* Dial. cum Tryph. p. 232.

† In his tract, *Quis dives salvetur*. § 40.

still later writer, of the eighth century, Elias Cretensis, represents them as the language of God, speaking by the prophet.* They seem intended to express the sense of passages in Ezekiel, particularly in the eighteenth chapter, which is alluded to by Justin, and quoted by Clement, in connexion with these words. As the text of Justin now stands, the words are ascribed to Christ. The error, if it be one, may have arisen from a failure of his memory, similar to that, through which he has elsewhere ascribed to one prophet the words of another ; or it may have been, as some have conjectured, the work of a transcriber. A transcriber, finding simply the words, ' the Lord said,' and supposing them, through mistake, to refer to Christ, may, in order to render this supposed reference clearer, have added those which now appear. Perhaps, however, Justin may have been acquainted with some tradition or writing, which ascribed the saying in question to our Saviour. It has been before remarked,† that there are a few sayings attributed to him, in the writings of the fathers, which are not recorded in the Gospels.

* Fabricii Cod. Apoc. N. T. Tom. I. pp. 333. 334.

† See p. 77.

At least they are not found there, in the same form of expression, in which they are alleged by the fathers. Thus Clement of Alexandria represents him as saying ; “ Ask great things, and what are small shall be given you in addition.”* Origen quotes these words without expressly ascribing them to Christ, but appearing to give them as his, and adds the following ; “ Ask heavenly things, and what are earthly shall be given you in addition ;” † and in another place, he states that Jesus said ; “ For the sake of the weak I was weak, for the sake of the hungry I hungered, and for the sake of the thirsty I thirsted.” ‡ We know in what high respect Clement and Origen held the Gospels. If we should believe, therefore, that Justin, like them, quoted a supposed saying of our Saviour, not found in the Gospels, this would be no ground for inferring that he did not hold those writings in similar respect.

The examination of the passages which we have gone over, is of more interest than may appear at first sight. Justin carries us back to

† Stromat. Lib. I. p. 346.

‡ De Orat. § 2 et § 14. Opp. I. 197 et 219.

‡ Comment. in Matth. Tom. XIII. § 2. Opp. III. 573.

the age which followed that of the apostles. His writings have been searched for the purpose of finding some notices of Christ, or some intimations relating to him, different from the accounts of the evangelists. It will be perceived that nothing which can be regarded as of any importance has been discovered. On the contrary, he gives a great part of the history of Christ, in perfect harmony with what is found in the Gospels, sometimes agreeing in words, and always in meaning. We may infer, therefore, that the account of Christ, contained in the Gospels, was that which his followers had taught, and had received, as true, from the beginning; that it was the account which Christians acknowledged as the foundation of their faith; and that there were no opposing narratives respecting him, which disappeared in part, and in part coalesced into the forms which the four Gospels present. It is remarkable, that in so early a writer as Justin, we discover so little matter, additional to what is contained in the Gospels; so little, which it is necessary to suppose derived from any other source. The most satisfactory explanation of this phenomenon seems to be, that the Gospels had come down from the apostolic age with such a weight of authority, there was such an entire reli-

ance upon their credibility, that it was generally felt to be unwise and unsafe to blend any uncertain accounts with the history contained in those works. Such accounts, therefore, were neglected and forgotten. The Gospels extinguished all feebler lights.

In what precedes, we have carefully examined the objections to the conclusion, that Justin quoted our four Gospels. But what, it may now be asked, are the direct arguments in proof of this? They partly appear in what has been already said; but may be stated more fully.

I. In other cases, where we find such an agreement of thoughts and words, as exists between the passages quoted by Justin, and passages of the Gospels, particularly of Matthew and Luke, no doubt is entertained, that the volume, thus furnishing a counterpart to certain citations, was the work cited. The coincidence is particularly striking in several citations from the Old Testament, common to St. Matthew and Justin, in which the latter writer appears to have followed verbally the Greek Gospel of the former; though the passages, as they stand in that Gospel agree neither with the Septuagint nor the Hebrew.* The presumption arising from

* See Additional Note, E.

these facts is to be overborne only by strong objections, founded on some striking peculiarity in the case. In the present instance nothing is opposed to it, but the possibility, that there may have been some work extant in the time of Justin, as nearly allied in character to the first three Gospels as any one of these is to either of the others ; and that Justin quoted this work, and not the Gospels. No such work, then extant in the Greek language, which he might have used, is known or can be named, or appears to have been ever heard of by any ancient writer. It has been conjectured, therefore, that he quoted the Gospel of the Hebrews, which was written in the vernacular language of the Jews in the time of our Saviour. This language is generically called Hebrew, but has received in modern times the distinctive name of Syro-Chaldee. The Gospel of the Hebrews was, probably, in its primitive form, the Hebrew original of the Gospel of St. Matthew ; but was distinguished from this by the corruptions which had been introduced into it. Through these corruptions it was, at last, made to assume two, if not more, different forms, in one of which it was called the Gospel of the Nazarenes, and in the other, the Gospel of the Ebionites. By those who suppose it to have been quoted by Justin, it must be regarded as

having been, from the first, a different work from the Hebrew original of St. Matthew; or as having been so corrupted before the time of Justin, that it had, in effect, become a different work when he wrote.

To the supposition that Justin quoted this gospel in the original, there is an objection which occurs at the very outset. It is, that his knowledge of the Hebrew of the Old Testament, if he may be considered as having had any acquaintance with it, was extremely superficial and inaccurate; a fact which has been often remarked. The proofs of his ignorance of it afforded by his writings are such as leave no doubt upon the subject.* But the language of the Jews, in the time of our Saviour, the Syro-Chaldee, was nearly allied to the Hebrew of the Old Testament. It is quite improbable, therefore, that one, very ignorant of the latter, should have been so familiar with the former dialect, as

* Of these proofs, his etymology of the Greek word *Satan*, [Satan] may alone be considered as decisive. Every one having any correct acquaintance with the Hebrew, knows its root to be the word שָׂטָן. But Justin derives it from *Sarah*, which, according to him, in the language of the Jews and Syrians, signifies 'apostate,' and נָח, [נחש], 'a serpent.' He thus provides a Hebrew etymology for a Greek termination. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 360. See the last note of Maranus on page 198.

commonly to use a gospel composed in it.—But supposing Justin to have been familiar with the Syro-Chaldee, no good reason can be assigned why he, who was a Gentile, should have preferred to quote the Gospel of the Hebrews; especially when we consider that if this were the work quoted by him, it must have been either an anonymous, or a spurious book, or one which had been grossly interpolated; since it cannot be pretended, that it was the work actually written by Matthew. The four Greek Gospels were well known in his time; for Irenæus, who was his contemporary, though younger than Justin, speaks of them as in common use throughout the Christian community.—If we suppose him to have quoted the original of the Gospel of the Hebrews, translating it into Greek, no satisfactory account can be given of the verbal correspondence between his quotations and parallel passages in Matthew and Luke, which is much too great to be regarded as the effect of accident, and even greater than could probably have existed between two independent translations from the same Hebrew original into Greek.—And still more; according to all evidence and probability, much that Justin has apparently quoted from the Memoirs by the Apostles, or referred to as existing in them, never was contained in

the Gospel of the Hebrews, in any form which it assumed. This is true of those quotations and references which correspond to passages in the Gospels of Luke and John. We know that the Gospel of the Ebionites contained nothing concerning the nativity of Christ ; of which Justin has given a full account, blending together passages from the narratives of both Matthew and Luke ; but it is on a comparison of two of his quotations with fragments of the gospel of the Ebionites, that the hypothesis in question rests for its foundation.—Without, therefore, at present pursuing the subject further, these considerations alone are sufficient to prove that Justin did not quote from the original of the Gospel of the Hebrews.

Of these considerations, some which appear decisive, apply equally to the supposition, that he quoted a Greek translation of the Gospel of the Hebrews, extant in his time. There is further no evidence whatever that any translation of this gospel was then extant ; but a strong presumption to the contrary from the absence of all mention of it in any writer ; and from the fact that none was known to Jerome, about the close of the fourth century.

Giving up, therefore, the notion of his having quoted the Gospel of the Hebrews either in the

original or a translation, Eichhorn supposes, that the work used by Justin "was an imperfect shoot from the stock of the Gospels [the Original Gospel], which first attained its perfection in our Matthew ;" * or to express his meaning more clearly, that it was one of the transitions which the Gospel of Matthew passed through, before assuming its present form. This seems to be the supposition now prevalent among those, who deny that Justin made use of the four Gospels. The writing which he calls *Memoirs* by the Apostles, says another German critic, Schmidt, "was by no means unconnected with the canonical Gospel of Matthew ; but, on the contrary, had its origin in a further elaboration of that work." This, at first, seems a different view from that given by Eichhorn ; but Schmidt explains himself in a note, in which he says ; "It must not here be supposed, that our Gospel of Matthew then actually existed altogether in its present state ; on the contrary, this likewise may afterwards have been yet again enriched with many additions, and thus have become removed from its original alliance with that of Justin." † These conjectures are

* Eichhorn's *Einleit.* in d. N. T. I. 104.

† Schmidt's *Einleit.* in's N. T. § 51.

connected with that hypothesis, which has been examined in the First Part of this work, concerning the gradual formation of the Gospels, as they now exist, through the additions and changes of a series of transcribers. They are branches of this hypothesis, and must perish with it. If no such process of corruption ever took place, then no such works as are imagined by Eichhorn and Schmidt ever existed.

Justin, then, did not use a work of the character last mentioned, nor did he use the Gospel of the Hebrews. If it be still denied that he used our present Gospels, then, in regard to any other single book, which he may be conjectured to have quoted, it must answer to the following conditions. It must have been one which he and other Christians believed, or professed to believe, "written by apostles and companions of apostles;" it must have been of high authority among Christians, a sacred book, read in their churches; and it must, immediately after he wrote, have fallen into entire neglect and oblivion; for no mention of it, or allusion to it, is discoverable in any writer who succeeded him. But it is impossible to believe all these propositions to be true of any book.

Excepting the Gospels, therefore, no history of Christ can be named, or imagined with any

probability, which Justin might have used. The presumption, then, arising from the coincidence of his quotations with the text of the Gospels, is left to operate with its whole force.

These quotations principally correspond to passages in Matthew and Luke. But if it be proved that he made use of their Gospels, there can be little reason for doubting that he was acquainted with the other two, and included them under the title of Memoirs by the Apostles. St. Mark records but few discourses of our Saviour, and has very little which is not common to him with St. Matthew or St. Luke, except some additional circumstances in the relation of particular facts, not of a character to be noticed in giving a general view of the history and doctrines of Christianity. His language, likewise, when different, being commonly inferior to that of Matthew and Luke, Justin would naturally prefer their expressions. But, as we have seen,* he has quoted one fact, recorded only by Mark, and that with an almost explicit reference to his particular Gospel. Justin's acquaintance with St. John's Gospel, appears from his insisting upon the

* See p. 192.

doctrine of the incarnation of the Logos in Christ, a doctrine which must have been founded upon the first verses of that Gospel. The conception of the Logos, indeed, was familiar before the time when either Justin or St. John wrote; but the doctrine of the incarnation of the Logos in Christ must have rested wholly upon the passage referred to. Accordingly Justin speaks in language similar to that of St. John of 'the Logos having been made flesh.'* He has, likewise, other conceptions and turns of expression apparently derived from St. John's Gospel. He represents John the Baptist as having said; "I am not the Christ."† He ascribes to Christ the words; "He who hears me and does what I say, hears him that sent me."‡ He justifies Christians for not keeping the Jewish Sabbath; "because God has carried on the same administration of the universe during that day, as during all others;"§ a thought so singular that there is strong reason to believe it borrowed from what was said by our Saviour, when the Jews were enraged at his having per-

* Apolog. prim. p. 52. John i. 14.

† Dial. cum Tryph. p. 332. John i. 20. iii. 28.

‡ Apolog. prim. p. 25. John xiv. 24.

§ Dial. cum Tryph. pp. 194, 195.

formed a miracle on the Sabbath ; " My Father has been working hitherto, as I am working." * And, in the last place, he states that " Christ said ; ' Unless ye be born again, ye cannot enter the kingdom of heaven ; ' " adding, with allusion to the words of Nicodemus, that " it is evidently impossible for those once born to enter into their mother's womb." †

II. We pass now to other considerations, which show that the Memoirs used by Justin were the four Gospels. The description which he gives of them corresponds to the Gospels. His language implies that he appealed to several books. He speaks not of one, but of several authors ; " Those," he says, " who have written memoirs concerning every thing relating to our Saviour, Jesus Christ, whom we believe : "—" The apostles in the Memoirs composed by them : " " Memoirs which I affirm to have been composed by apostles of Christ and their companions." ‡ In the last passage, we have not only a plurality of authors mentioned, but the authors of the four Gospels described.

Again ; Justin says that the Memoirs by the Apostles were " called Gospels." § This pas-

* John v. 17.

† See pp. 186, 189.

‡ Apolog. prim. p. 89. John iii. 3, 4.

§ See p. 187.

sage, taken in connexion with the one just adverted to, appears, even without any other evidence, to be almost decisive of the point in question. It can hardly be contended, that gospels written by apostles of Christ and their companions, could be any other than our present Gospels. It has accordingly been suggested that the words of Justin, '*which are called Gospels,*' are an interpolation. But there seems to be no other foundation for this conjecture than the fact, that they are irreconcilable with the hypothesis to be maintained.*

* See Marsh's Letters, pp. 30, 31, note, and the Appendix to his Illustration, p. 28 seqq. Stroth has not noticed the passage. Eichhorn (I. 101, note, 2d. ed.) says, "The plural *εὐαγγέλια* (gospels) proves nothing in favor of the use of our four Gospels; for Justin elsewhere speaks of but one gospel." The fact referred to in the last words, when correctly stated, is, that Justin employs the term *gospel* in the singular to denote the gospel-history, according to a common use of it, which we have repeatedly had occasion to remark, and of which another example will be immediately given. But Eichhorn proceeds; "The fathers were accustomed to name each individual relation concerning the life of Jesus a *gospel*; (—Irenæus, III. 15. "operatus est Deus *plurima evangelia* ostendi per Lucam;" i. e. 'God caused *many gospels* to be made known by Luke'—); in accordance with which a collection of relations concerning the life of Jesus is called *gospels* in the plural, as well as *gospel* in the singular." For these assertions there is, I presume, no authority. In the passage of Irenæus, quoted by Eichhorn, the

III. A strong proof that Justin made use of our present Gospels arises from the circumstance, that there is no intimation to the contrary in the

true reading, without doubt, is that of the Clermont manuscript, adopted by Massuet, not 'plurima evangelia,' but 'plurima evangelii;' not 'many gospels,' but 'many portions of the gospel-history.' It is, I conceive, on the ground of one corrupt reading alone, in opposition to the common use of the word *εὐαγγέλιον*, in, probably, more than ten thousand other instances, that we are told that "the fathers *were accustomed*," &c.

There is, however, a particular use of the word in question, that may perhaps be confounded with the one which Eichhorn supposes; and to which, therefore, though it is not noticed by him, it may be worth while to advert. When the Gospels were divided into lessons, appointed to be read in a certain order in the churches, these lessons were called *εὐαγγέλιον*, gospels; as they are at the present day in those churches, in which the practice continues. But though the English Church, for instance, speaks of 'Collects, Epistles, and *Gospels*;' yet no English writer would, in consequence, think of saying, that St. Luke wrote many gospels, or that the history of Christ by St. Matthew was also called *gospels*. Nor would an ancient writer have been more likely to express himself in a similar manner. Further, Chrysostom mentions, that in his time women and little children wore *εὐαγγέλιον*, 'gospels,' hanging about their necks, as phylacteries. Here, by *εὐαγγέλιον*, sentences from the Gospels, portions of the Gospels, not entire Gospels, are, probably, meant. In both uses of the word just mentioned, it acquires its signification by a common metonymy, according to which the name of the whole is put for a part. The extracts from the Gospels, in these cases, are called *εὐαγγέλιον*, because they are regarded as parts of a Gospel. They have not this name, considered as "individual relations concerning the life of Jesus."

whole numerous succession of subsequent Christian fathers. We have the evidence of Eusebius in the fourth century, and of Photius in the ninth, that his works were well known, and held in high esteem. They are referred to with respect by several of the principal fathers. Concerning other ancient writers, we find it remarked, particularly by Eusebius, that they sometimes quoted books not canonical, and among them, the Gospel of the Hebrews. This, for instance, is said of Justin's contemporary, Hegesippus. But it is not said of Justin. His quotations excited no attention, as presenting any unexpected phenomenon, or as a matter of any difficulty or curiosity. If he had quoted histories of Christ, different from the Gospels, it is incredible, that the fact should have escaped the knowledge of all ancient writers after his time; or that, being known, it should not have been adverted to.

IV. The manner in which Justin speaks of the character and authority of the books to which he appeals, of their reception among Christians, and of the use which was made of them, proves that these books were the Gospels. They carried with them apostolic authority, being regarded as the works of apostles and their companions. They were those writings from

which he and other Christians derived their knowledge of the history and doctrines of Christ. They were relied upon by him as primary and decisive evidence in his explanations of the character of Christianity. They were regarded as sacred books. They were read, as he informs us, in the assemblies of Christians on the Lord's day, in connexion with the Prophets of the Old Testament. Let us now consider the manner in which we know that our present Gospels were regarded by the contemporaries of Justin. Irenæus was in the vigor of life before Justin's death ; and the same was true of many thousands of Christians living when Irenæus wrote. But he tells us, that the four Gospels are the four pillars of the church, the foundation of Christian faith, written by those who had first orally preached the gospel, by two apostles and two companions of apostles.* It is incredible that Irenæus and Justin should have spoken of different books. We cannot suppose that writings, such as the *Memoirs* of which Justin speaks, believed to be essentially the work of apostles, read in Christian churches, and received as sacred books of the highest

* See p. 112 seqq.

authority, should, immediately after he wrote, have fallen into neglect and oblivion, and been superseded by another set of books. The strong and apparently just sentiment of their value could not so silently and so unaccountably have changed into entire disregard. The copies of them spread over the world could not so suddenly and so mysteriously have disappeared, that no subsequent trace of their existence should be clearly discoverable. When, therefore, we find Irenæus, the contemporary of Justin, ascribing to the four Gospels, the same character, the same authority, and the same authors, as are ascribed by Justin to the Memoirs quoted by him, it would seem that there can be no reasonable doubt, that the Memoirs of Justin are the Gospels of Irenæus.

The conclusion, to which we have arrived, is well worth the labor of a patient and minute examination. If Justin had quoted his accounts of Christ, not from the Gospels, but from some other memoirs of him, this fact would have tended, more than any other, to throw doubt and obscurity upon the history of the reception of the Gospels among Christians. Still, even this fact, though it might have presented a difficulty not

easy to be solved, would have afforded evidence of the truth of the accounts contained in the Gospels. For in the case supposed, it would have appeared that those accounts were strikingly confirmed by another set of ancient books, which at a very early period were held in high respect by Christians.

The argument urged in the last chapter is, in its nature, cumulative ; and the accession of force to be derived from the evidence afforded by the writings of Justin Martyr is not to be disregarded. He carries us one step higher in our advances toward the apostolic age. What was before a matter of inference, it may be thought of necessary inference, becomes a matter of testimony. We learn directly from his writings, that the Gospels were received by Christians of his age, that is by those Christians, who lived during the first half of the second century, as the authentic and sacred records of the history of their master, the works of his apostles and their companions.

We shall next consider a portion of the evidence for the genuineness of the Gospels, to be gathered from a still earlier period.

CHAPTER III.

EVIDENCE OF PAPIAS. ST. LUKE'S OWN TESTIMONY TO
THE GENUINENESS OF HIS GOSPEL.

It has been asserted, as we have seen, by Eichhorn, that "there are no traces of our present Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke before the end of the second and the beginning of the third century." * No meaning can be put upon these words, not obviously irreconcilable with well known and undisputed facts, except by viewing them in connexion with his theory of the formation of those Gospels *as they now exist*, through a series of corruptions and additions. He must be understood as intending to say, that no traces of those Gospels *as they now exist*, no clear notices of them *in their present form*, are to be found before the close of the second century. But if the proposition have been established, that the Gospels, since their first compo-

* See p. 11.

sition, have existed in the same form as at present, then whatever notices we find of them, in any period of their history, must relate to our present Gospels.

Between the publication of St. John's Gospel, and the time when Justin wrote, an interval, probably, of about fifty years, we find very few Christian writers, of whose works any considerable remains are extant. It was a period of distress and confusion. Our religion, left upon the death of that apostle without any powerful and distinguished advocate, was struggling for establishment against the opposition and persecution of the world. A great revolution was taking place in the minds of those who had been acted upon by the preaching of the apostles. Their opinions, like their circumstances, were unsettled. The separation or the union, which was afterwards effected, between ancient errors and the new doctrines of our faith, was as yet undecided. Our religion had not assumed among its professed followers, a well defined character; and its sublime truths were not so fully comprehended, as when men had become more familiar with the conception of them. It had not yet secured possession of the minds and hearts of many converts well qualified by their literary eminence to explain and defend it. These

causes will account for the few remains of writers from among the catholic Christians, during this period ; and for the comparatively few notices which we find of the Gospels before the time of Justin Martyr. Besides those, however, which I shall immediately adduce, we have the important fact of their reception by some of the principal Gnostic sects. The Gnostics, from the necessity of explaining and defending their new systems, appear to have written, during the early period of which we are speaking, more, in proportion to their numbers, than the catholic Christians. The proof which they afford of the genuineness of the Gospels, will be considered hereafter. We will, at present, attend only to evidence of Papias, and St. Luke's own testimony to the genuineness of his Gospel.

I. I have already had occasion to mention Papias, as flourishing about the year 116. He was bishop of Hierapolis, in Syria. He was acquainted, as he informs us, with many of the disciples of the apostles. He wrote a work, now lost, but of which some fragments are preserved by Eusebius. In this work, as quoted by Eusebius, Papias mentions the Gospels of Matthew and Mark. He says, that he received much information from John the Presbyter ; and gives the following account, as derived from him.

"The presbyter said, that Mark, being the interpreter of Peter, carefully wrote down all that he retained in memory of the actions or discourses of Christ; not, however, in order, for he was not himself a hearer or follower of the Lord; but, afterwards, as I said, a companion of Peter, who taught in the manner best suited to the instruction of his hearers, without giving a connected narrative of our Lord's discourses. Such being the case, Mark committed no errors, in thus writing some things from memory; for he made it his sole object, not to omit anything which he had heard, and not to state any thing falsely." *

Of Matthew, Papias says: "Matthew wrote the oracles in the Hebrew language; and every one interpreted them as he was able." †

It appears from these passages, that the Gospels of Matthew and Mark were well known before the time of Papias, that they were attributed to those writers, regarded as authentic, and venerated as oracles.

II. In the commencement of the Acts of the Apostles, we have St. Luke's own testimony to the genuineness of his Gospel. The historical

* Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. c. 39.

† Ibid.

proof, that the first mentioned work was written by him, is confirmed by internal evidence, so various and satisfactory, as to leave no reasonable doubt upon the subject; nor do I know, that the fact is, at the present day, controverted. We have, then, St. Luke's own testimony that he was the author of a history of Christ. But no one will adopt the supposition, that the history, which he actually wrote, has been lost, and another substituted in its place. The work of which he speaks, therefore, must be our present Gospel. It may be suggested, indeed, that the mention of the latter in the Acts of the Apostles, is an interpolation, intended to give credit and currency to the Gospel. The answer is, that such an interpolation could not have been introduced in the lifetime of St. Luke, or during the apostolic age; and that after this period, the project of inserting so remarkable a passage into all the copies extant, would have been too extravagant to enter the mind of any man. To attempt it would only have been to announce publicly the design of committing a fraud. Supposing any one to have entertained the purpose of giving credit to a spurious gospel, the only practicable mode of introducing a pretended averment of the feigned author respecting it, would have been to insert this in the

work itself. We have, therefore, St. Luke's own testimony to the genuineness of his Gospel.

But this testimony not only establishes the genuineness of St. Luke's Gospel ; it has a further bearing. There is a striking resemblance between this Gospel, and those of St. Matthew and St. Mark. There are likewise, many striking points of resemblance between the character and situation of the former writer, and the two latter. They had similar opportunities for information respecting all the common objects of knowledge ; the influences of our faith had produced in them similar feelings and conceptions ; they were all placed in circumstances the most extraordinary, and peculiar to a few individuals ; they all belonged to the small class of the first missionaries of our religion. One of them is supposed to have been an eyewitness of many of the facts, and a hearer of many of the discourses which he records ; and the other two are believed to have derived their information from those who like him were companions of our Lord. When, therefore, we find that a work, of a very remarkable character, was written by St. Luke, and that two other works, distinguished by the same characteristics, are ascribed to St. Matthew and St. Mark, there arises a strong presumption, that they have been ascribed to their true authors.

No objections can be brought against the genuineness of the two latter histories, stronger than those which may be adduced against the genuineness of the former. In the one case, we find that these objections are unfounded ; we have, therefore, good reason to believe, that they are equally unfounded in the other case.

Here, likewise, it is proper to recur to the considerations before urged, to show that the proof of the genuineness of any one of the Gospels involves the proof of the genuineness of all. The argument, that has been brought forward, when reduced to its simplest form, is nothing more than an obvious truth, which may be thus stated. Supposing any body of men to possess an account of events, esteemed by them of the greatest interest to themselves and to the world, to know that this account was the work of an author whom they hold in the highest respect, to believe him to have had the most satisfactory means of information, and to regard his work, *therefore*, as entitled to the fullest credit, and still more, to a sacred character ; and supposing them, further, to be placed in circumstances, which alone, even without any careful scrutiny on their part, almost exclude the possibility of deception ;—these men will not receive, as, likewise, entitled to the fullest credit, and to a

sacred character, another account, a fraudulent work, falsely ascribed to some venerated name, falsely pretending to an authority to which it has no claim, and, at the same time, in more or fewer respects, irreconcilable with that which has been received as the truth.

The Gospel of Luke, then, came down from the apostolic age, as his work, with his own attestation to its genuineness. This being so, the Gospels of Matthew and Mark could not have obtained reception as sacred books, in common with it, if they had not been works of those authors. (But the authority of all three of these Gospels was established in the time of Papias.) Now this was a period but just after the death of St. John, when thousands were living who had seen that last survivor of the apostles, many, perhaps, who had made a pilgrimage to Ephesus to behold his countenance and listen to his voice, and hundreds who belonged to the church over which he presided in person. It is incredible, therefore, that before the time of Papias, a spurious gospel should have been received as his work ; and after the time of Papias, when the authority of the first three Gospels was established, the attempt to introduce a gospel falsely ascribed to St. John, must have been, if possible, still more impracticable.

Here then we conclude the direct historical evidence for the genuineness of the Gospels, from their reception by the great body of Christians.* We will next consider what may be inferred from the use made of them by the earlier heretical sects.

* It has been customary, in treating the subject before us, to allege the supposed testimony of certain writings ascribed to contemporaries of the apostles, and called writings of Apostolical Fathers. But nothing has, in my opinion, contributed more to give a very false and very unfavorable impression of the real nature and strength of the evidence for the genuineness of the Gospels. On this subject, see Additional Note, F.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

A

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

NOTE A.

(See pp. 23 and 73.)

FURTHER REMARKS UPON THE PRESENT STATE OF THE TEXT OF THE GOSPELS.

SECTION I.

Introductory Statement.

IN this note it is my intention to show the great extravagance of the language, which has been used by Griesbach and others, concerning the diversities of the text in different copies of the New Testament. In doing this, I must treat of the system of classifying those copies, which has been connected with, and has principally given occasion to, the language referred to. I shall then notice all the more important passages in the Received Text of the Gospels, which seem to me probably spurious. But as the criticism of Matthew's Gospel depends in part on the language in which it was originally written, and upon the question, whether it was the Gospel used by the Hebrew Christians, I previously shall state the reasons for believing it to have been written in Hebrew, and to have been used by those Christians.

SECTION II.

On the systematic Classification of the Copies of the New Testament, adopted by Griesbach and others; and the Language concerning the Diversities among those Copies, with which it has been connected.

GRIESBACH divides the authorities for settling the text of the New Testament into three principal classes, called by him *recensiones*, "recensions" or "critical editions." He regards the manuscripts, versions, and quotations, belonging respectively to each of these classes, as more or less conformed to a standard text, different from that of the other two classes. The grounds of this classification are explained by him in the third section of the Prolegomena to his edition of the New Testament. "That two different recensions," he says, "were in existence at least as early as the commencement of the third century, is evident from a comparison of the quotations of Origen with those of Tertullian and Cyprian. The Greek text, implied in the quotations of the latter, is different in its whole conformation and entire coloring (*toto suo habitu universoque colore*) from that which was used by Origen, and before him by Clement of Alexandria. The former text (that of the Latin Fathers, Tertullian and Cyprian,) is found in those manuscripts in which the Greek original is accompanied with a Latin version, in the copies of the Latin version which preceded the Vulgate, in that portion of the Vatican manuscript which contains the Gospel of Matthew," in seven other more modern manuscripts enumerated by Griesbach, "in the Sahidic version, and the Syriac of Jerusalem." The latter text (that of Origen) is found, according to the statements of Griesbach in his different writings, in the

Ephrem manuscript, in the manuscript of the Gospels called Codex Stephani η , in the Vatican, with the exception of the first and greater part of Matthew's Gospel, in that part of the Alexandrine which contains the Epistles of Paul, in a few other manuscripts of later date (though in these in a more corrupt state), in the Coptic, Æthiopic, Armenian, and Philoxenian-Syriac versions, and in the quotations of Eusebius, Athanasius, Cyril of Alexandria, Isidore of Pelusium, and others. This text, being used by Clement and Origen, who flourished at Alexandria, and generally at Alexandria and throughout Egypt, may be called the *Alexandrine*. The other text, being from the time of Tertullian used throughout the West in the Latin Church, may be called the *Western*. "It was not, however," says Griesbach, "confined within the bounds of the Western Empire, as appears from the agreement between it and the Sahidic version and the Syriac of Jerusalem, which though not constant is frequent." But, beside these two more ancient texts, he supposes a third, which is first found in the quotations of the Greek Fathers who flourished about the close of the fourth century, and during the fifth and sixth. It is to be distinguished into its earlier and later forms; and in one or the other is found in a great majority of manuscripts, and appears in the Gothic version, and also in the Slavonic, though the copies of the latter differ often from each other. It prevailed in the Patriarchy of Constantinople, and was thence spread over the Christian world. It may therefore be denominated the *Constantinopolitan* or *Byzantine*.

The characteristics of these three different texts, as given by Griesbach, are as follows.

"The Western text preserves genuine readings of a harsher kind, remote from the analogy of the Greek lan-

guage, Hebraisms, solecisms, cacophonies; by all which Western readers would be less offended. In the Alexandrine recension, there appears a disposition to remove or alter whatever might be offensive to the ear of a native Greek. The Western endeavours to explain the sense, and render it more obvious by interpretations, periphrases, additions which were eagerly sought for (*additamentis undecunq̄ue conquisitis*), and by transpositions of words and sentences. It is the object of the Alexandrine to improve the language, rather than illustrate the meaning. The Western presents us with longer readings, it has more words, it contains additions derived from parallel passages; but it also sometimes omits words, which seem to obscure the sense, or to be contradictory to the context, or to what is found elsewhere; in all which respects the Alexandrine is the purer text. In a word, in the Alexandrine text we discover the work of a grammarian, in the Western that of an interpreter." "In all the particulars which have been mentioned, the Byzantine corresponds much with the Alexandrine, differing from it only in discovering yet more regard to purity of language, and in admitting readings from the Western text different from the Alexandrine, or readings compounded of those found in both texts." "The origin," says Griesbach, "of these different recensions, in the deficiency of ancient documents and testimony, cannot be historically explained."

In remarking upon what has been quoted, I will first notice the exaggerated language used by Griesbach, very remote from the sober statements, to be expected in a mere critical disquisition. The Western text, he says, differs from the Alexandrine "in its whole conformation and entire coloring." Let us, in the first place, compare this

with his own language, found elsewhere. The Cambridge manuscript is regarded by Griesbach as containing the Western text, and the Codex Stephani η as one of those which have preserved the Alexandrine. In comparing the readings of these manuscripts, and of Origen, he says :

“From the frequent agreement of the Cambridge manuscript with the Codex Stephani η , and Origen, it appears that the most ancient Western recension agreed with the Alexandrine in innumerable places :” * this, of course, must mean, in innumerable variations from the Received Text.

But the comparison here instituted between the two supposed texts, though it leads to the conclusion just quoted respecting their agreement with each other, cannot be regarded as a fair one. The Cambridge manuscript cannot be considered as belonging to any class of manuscripts, so as to be a correct representative of their standard text. It has a peculiar character. A part of the title of one of the chapters in Father Simon’s “Critical History of the Text of the New Testament,” is this ; “*Why is the Cambridge manuscript so different from other Greek copies ?*” “I suspect,” says Bishop Middleton, “that all the collated manuscripts put together do not contain one half the readings, in which the Codex Bezae (that is, the Cambridge manuscript,) differs from the Received Text.” † In the fourth chapter of St. John’s Gospel, (which I have taken without selection,) there are, if I have counted rightly, seventy-seven various readings quoted by Wetstein from this manuscript, omitting to notice one which is obviously an accidental error in the spelling of a word. Of these,

* Symbolæ Criticæ, Vol. I. pp. cxvii, cxviii.

† Middleton on the Greek Article ; Appendix on the Cod. Bezae.

thirty-seven appear to be found in no other Greek manuscript, and twenty-seven to be supported by no other authority of any kind.* The hypothesis of Matthæi respecting the origin of this manuscript, whether correct or not, sufficiently corresponds to the phenomena which it presents. "My suspicion, respecting it," he says, "is this. Some Latin monk, having a moderate acquaintance with the Greek language, had written in the margin of his Greek New Testament, passages both from Greek and Latin fathers, which seemed to refer to particular passages of the New Testament. He had noted likewise various readings of some Greek and Latin manuscripts of the New Testament. He had added parallel passages of the sacred writings. From this miscellaneous collection, either he, or some other person, prepared a text according to his own judgment." "From a copy of this sort, different from all others, the Cambridge manuscript was derived."† It seems clear, that a manuscript of such a character cannot properly be considered as a representative of any class of authorities. But the Cambridge manuscript (*occidentalium facile princeps*, as it is called by Griesbach) is a main pillar of the theory respecting a separate Western text with its peculiar characteristics. How much it is so may appear in some degree from a passage in a work which Griesbach published in 1811, the year before his death, in which he says, "that there existed from the second and third centuries various recensions of the sacred text, one of which, as respects the Gospels, remains in D (the Cambridge manuscript), another in manuscripts B, C, L,‡ and another in manuscripts

* In making this computation, I have looked for coincident authorities in Griesbach as well as Wetstein.

† Quoted by Middleton, *ubi supra*.

‡ The Vatican, the Ephrem, and the Codex Stephani 7.

E, F, G, H, S,* and others."† Here the Cambridge manuscript is mentioned alone as the representative of the Western text.

We will now produce another passage from Griesbach. In the Epistles, he compares the readings of the Clermont manuscript, which he considers as, in this part of the New Testament, a representative of the Western text, with the Alexandrine authorities, Origen, the Ephrem manuscript, and the Codex Stephani η; and remarks; "The Western recension, as far as we are acquainted with it from this manuscript, was nearly allied to the Alexandrine."‡ We may compare this with the language used in his Prolegomena; and, in order to show more clearly the extravagance of the latter, we may blend the words of both sentences into one: *The Western recension, so far as we are acquainted with it from this manuscript, was nearly allied to the Alexandrine, although it differed from it in its whole conformation and entire coloring.*

Again, the Vatican manuscript, except in the larger part of Matthew's Gospel, is one of Griesbach's principal Alexandrine authorities. In the Acts and the Epistles of St. Paul, he represents this and the Alexandrine and Ephrem as the chief guides in determining the Alexandrine readings.§ But of this manuscript he says in his latest work; "As to the Vatican manuscript, the basis of its text is altogether Alexandrine; but its frequent agreement with the Cambridge manuscript shows also, that it is everywhere allied to the Western copies."||

* Manuscripts regarded by Griesbach as containing the Byzantine text.

† Comment. Crit., P. II. p. lxxviii. ‡ Symbolæ Crit., Vol. I. p. cxxxviii.

§ Præfat. ad Vol. II. Nov. Test.

|| Comment. Crit., Partic. II. p. 203, not.

Griesbach's whole system of recensions was attacked as baseless by Matthaei, who, at the same time with him, was devoting himself to the criticism of the text of the New Testament. Matthaei was, I suppose, superior to Griesbach in learning, being more extensively acquainted with the Greek Fathers, and the character of their quotations from the New Testament. He was a laborious scholar after the fashion of former days. But his temper was irritable, and his style in controversy coarse and jeering. There was much bitterness in his personal attacks, and horse-play in his raillery; both of which he introduced in the most unsuitable of all places, his notes and remarks in his editions of the New Testament. He was deficient in judgment and power of reasoning; and, even when his arguments were of weight, he was not patient enough to present them in such a manner as to give them their due force. His writings, therefore, produced little effect at the time; a great majority of German scholars siding with Griesbach, who avoided, in general, any direct controversy with his rough opponent.

But after the quotations I have given from Griesbach himself, respecting the near alliance of the supposed Alexandrine and Western texts, notwithstanding the great difference which he elsewhere states to exist between them, no one will be surprised to find, that later critics reject the distinction altogether, as having no foundation in the various readings of the early authorities for settling the text of the New Testament. Scholz, who, after having spent several years in the collation of manuscripts, published, in 1830, the first volume of a new critical edition of the New Testament, says: "There is no ground for distinguishing between those which have been called Alexandrine and those which have been called Western manuscripts. In my opinion they fall into one class. They

all differ so much from one another, that if we regard any thing more than their general character, and undertake to separate them into classes according to their specific peculiarities, we must make as many classes as there are manuscripts." * So also Eichhorn, though he had previously adopted the classification of Griesbach,† yet, in a work published shortly before his death,‡ speaks of "the dream of two very early recensions, an Alexandrine and a Western," as having no foundation in history; and maintains that "in the earliest times what have been called the Alexandrine and Western readings were found intermingled; and that how often or how seldom, or in what way, any manuscript might differ from the original text, depended merely on accident, on the choice of the exemplar to be copied, on the character of the transcriber and corrector of the manuscript, and other similar considerations, and not upon any previous recension (critical edition of the New Testament); unless the name of *recension* be given to every transcript." §

* *Biblisch-kritische Reise* (Travels for the Purpose of Biblical Criticism), pp. 178, 179. See also the Prolegomena to his N. T., cap. iii.

† *Einleit. in d. N. T.*, I. 675, 676.

‡ The fourth and fifth volumes of his "Introduction to the New Testament," relating principally to the criticism of the text.

§ Band IV. 273. — I do not quote Semler as an authority to the same point, because his want of conscientiousness as a writer, his passion for new hypotheses, of which he furnished the germs of many that have since flourished for a time under the care of his successors, and the dogmatism, rashness, and inconsistency of his assertions, prevent any reliance upon his expressed opinions. But he was the immediate predecessor of Griesbach in maintaining the theory of recensions of the text of the New Testament; and it may be worth while to observe, that he also blends together as one,

But the fact, that, instead of there being two early texts, widely differing from each other, there is truly no ground for distinguishing between an Alexandrine and a Western text, is, I think, established by the statements of Dr. Laurence (the present Archbishop of Cashel). The quotations of Origen afford, according to Griesbach, the highest standard of comparison for the Alexandrine class. But, respecting these quotations, Dr. Laurence remarks as follows: "In order to ascertain the true character of the readings of Origen, the whole of them together, and not a partial selection, should be examined. With this impression, I have given all which a diligent investigation enabled me to discover, in the Epistles of St. Paul, and have noted those which agree with other Alexandrine authorities, or with the Western, or with both. The total amount of his readings is *six hundred and nine*, out of which there are *two hundred and twenty-six*, which coincide with either

the Alexandrine and Western recensions, which Griesbach represents as so different. Of the two ancient recensions which Semler imagines, one is called by him the Eastern or that of Lucian; the other, according to him, was the Western, "prevailing also in Palestine and Egypt, and *found in the writings of Origen*." "It is," he says, "*perfectly accordant* (*ganz und gar einstimmig*) with the oldest Latin version, the *Itala*, or whatever it was, that was in use before the Vulgate." Semler's notion of the identity of the text used in Egypt, and appearing in the writings of Origen, that is to say, the Alexandrine text of Griesbach, with what Griesbach calls the Western text, the text found, according to both, in the oldest Latin version, could not be more strongly expressed. But it is here to be remarked, that we are acquainted with no one particular Latin version which was in use before the Vulgate, and, therefore, that the assertion is made at random, that the text of such a version was *perfectly accordant* with some other text.— See Semler's "Vorbereitung zur theologischen Hermeneutik." Stück III. Vorrede.

Western or Alexandrine authority, or with both. Of the remainder, many, indeed, not unfrequently accord with the Byzantine, but many more are perfectly insulated." "But, notwithstanding the great amount of this incongruous remainder, there are found a sufficient number of congruous readings for the purpose, at least, of a comparative examination.

"There occur *two hundred and twenty-six*, which coincide with one or both of the classes alluded to. Of these, *one hundred and eighteen* are supported by Western authority alone, *ninety* by both Western and Alexandrine united, and *only eighteen* by Alexandrine alone. Supposing the existence of an Alexandrine text, we may presume, that Origen would frequently have associates of that description in *peculiar* readings; but this presumption is far from being warranted by fact. For in truth, the very reverse takes place; as, out of *two hundred and twenty-six* readings, Origen has but *eighteen* distinguishable from the Western text, in which he is joined by any other Alexandrine Father. Nor even in this limited number of *eighteen*, does he read in conjunction with more than *one* Alexandrine, (sometimes with Clemens, and sometimes with Cyril,) except in the following five instances; Rom. iii. 30; 1 Cor. iv. 13; viii. 8; Ephes. v. 25; Philip. i. 24; in which he receives a double support. On the other hand, his alliance with Western authority, in exclusion of the Alexandrine, is so intimate, that he reads with that alone, not *eighteen*, but *one hundred and eighteen times*, a full moiety of the whole amount. Neither does he here often read with one or two, but generally (the source indeed being more prolific) with numerous associates."*

* Laurence's "Remarks upon the Systematical Classification of Manuscripts adopted by Griesbach," pp. 129 - 132.

Besides Origen, Clement of Alexandria is another of Griesbach's principal Alexandrine authorities. Of Clement, however, he himself thus speaks in his last work; "I readily concede, that he often quoted passages of the New Testament from the Western edition, and agrees wonderfully (*et consentire mirum in modum*) with the Cambridge manuscript. But he agrees also not unfrequently (*non raro consonat*) with manuscripts of the Alexandrine text, the Vatican, Ephrem, and Codex Stephani η ; and this not only in passages where they give the same reading with the Cambridge manuscript, but in passages also where the Alexandrine authorities differ from the Western."* It may appear, from all that has been quoted, that Clement and Origen, though put forward as leaders in the cause, are but doubtful Alexandrines, and well disposed to go over to the enemy; or rather that they are both open traitors. More seriously, it is evident that there is no ground for distinguishing under the name *Alexandrine*, or in any other manner, the text which appears in their quotations from the text found in certain other authorities called *Western*.

BUT the language I have quoted from Griesbach concerning the difference between these two supposed texts could not be used with an approach to truth concerning the differences between the Greek text of any manuscripts of the New Testament, of which we have knowledge, or may infer the former existence from quotations and versions. If we examine, for a few pages together, *all* the various readings collected by Wetstein and Griesbach, it is more probable than otherwise, that we shall not meet with one of importance, I do not say as affecting the sense, but as affecting the character of the style. In speaking of

* Comment. Crit. pp. xlix, l.

the Cambridge manuscript, Middleton remarks, in a spirit of exaggeration similar to that of Griesbach; "If we had, at the present day, no other Greek manuscript of the Gospels, almost every thing which the learned have determined respecting the style and language of the Evangelists would be wholly unfounded." * But what can be meant by such a remark? What proportion of the criticisms in Gataker "*de Novi Instrumenti Stylo*," so far as they relate to the Gospels, would cease to be applicable? How much of Vorstius "*de Hebraismis*" could be dispensed with in consequence? What proportion of Glasse's "*Philologia Sacra*" would the case supposed render useless? How many new words or new senses would it be necessary to add to the Lexicons of the New Testament; or how many now found in them would it be necessary to strike out? The whole amount of the difference between the text of the Cambridge manuscript and the corrected text of Griesbach, so far as it regards the characteristics of the style, consists in a few anomalous expressions, especially in an occasional improper use or neglect of the article, a circumstance not strange in a Greek manuscript written by a Latin transcriber; and, as I believe, some other Latinisms, arising from the circumstance that the Greek text has been in certain passages conformed to some Latin text, though the existence of this last characteristic has been disputed by modern critics, and the current of opinion has of late run counter to the supposition. Middleton himself has furnished a collation of one chapter from this manuscript, and the most important various readings from two others. Every one may see to how little they amount, as affecting the style of the New Testament.

* Middleton, *ubi supra*.

But this manuscript presents an extreme case. We can bring such language, as we have quoted from Griesbach, to a fairer test. The Byzantine text is regarded by him, as of the least authority, as the most corrupt. But this is the text, which, as found in the later and least valuable manuscripts of the class, was, according to him, the groundwork of the Received Text. His opinions concerning the latter are expressed in the first part of his Prolegomena to the New Testament. The following is the statement of another writer of his school of criticism, Bertholdt; "The Received Text is such a wretched mixture,* as is not found in the most modern and most corrupted manuscripts of the New Testament. Its groundwork is the text found in very modern manuscripts."† On the other hand, it was the object of Griesbach, in his corrected text, to approximate the original text as nearly as possible. Here then we have the two extremes, the purest and the most corrupt text. Let us compare them together, and see how great is the disagreement. There can be no question, that he would be thought to make a very wild assertion, who should say that Griesbach's text differed in its "whole conformation and entire coloring" from the Received Text. But in making this comparison we have brought together texts which, according to his hypothesis, should be most unlike; the most pure, and the most corrupt. What then shall we say of such language as applied to the Alexandrine and the Western texts? Did either the Alexandrine or the Western text differ more than the Received Text from the original?

* "Greulicher Mischmasch," literally, "shocking hotch-potch."

† Bertholdt's *Historisch-kritische Einleitung*, u. s. f., i. e. *Historical and Critical Introduction to the Old and New Testaments*, Part I. p. 356.

If so, one or the other, or both, was more corrupt than the Received Text, contrary to all Griesbach's statements. If they differed less from this common standard, then their differences, when compared together, must have been small indeed.

THE amount of difference between the Received Text and the most correct, and the importance of the various readings of the New Testament, are subjects to which we shall again advert. Enough, perhaps, has been said to show how wholly unfounded is the language of Griesbach. I have remarked upon it thus particularly, not only on account of the authority of his name, but because assertions of a similar character are common in the writings of the German critics. We will now take a further view of the theory with which it is connected, *the theory of ancient recensions of the text of the New Testament*; which, after being advanced by Griesbach, met with an extensive reception, and which, variously modified by different writers, still retains credit. It was, however, as we shall see, virtually abandoned by Griesbach himself.

According to this theory, all the authorities of the Alexandrine, of the Western, and of the Byzantine class, or of any other classes which may be supposed, are respectively derived from a standard text, peculiar to that class, of which they are more or less faithful copies. Two different standard texts, according to Griesbach, existed before the close of the second century; and another was subsequently formed, from which the Byzantine authorities are derived. He uses, in denoting his classes, the word *recensio*, the meaning of which is "critical edition," and which implies the existence of a standard text formed with care. "A critic," says Griesbach, in explaining

his system, "who, bringing together many manuscripts, or other helps, so remodels the text of any work, as to cause it to differ in its whole conformation from the text of all other manuscripts, is to be considered as the author of a new *recension*." * He speaks of the "*ancient and native readings*" of the Alexandrine text.† He says, that "no manuscript of either recension (the Alexandrine or Western) has come down to us, which has not been interpolated in many places;" ‡ "no recension is found in any remaining manuscript *such as it originally existed*." § He speaks of "distinguishing the later interpolations and glosses from the *genuine and primitive* readings of either recension." || He says in one place, that the Alexandrine and Western recensions are *equally ancient*; ¶ and in another, that the Western recension is *far the most ancient of all*.** In his last work, he adopts the opinion of Hug, that the Byzantine authorities are to be referred to a text, which had been critically formed by Lucian; †† or, in other words, that Lucian is the author of the Byzantine recension. But above all, it is the main principle of his criticism on the New Testament, that every authority is to be referred to its particular class, and regarded, in the first instance, merely as serving to determine the reading of the standard text of that

* "Criticus, qui adhibitis codicibus pluribus, aliisque subsidiis, textum libri cujusdam ita refingit, ut habitu universo a cæterorum codicum omnium textu differat, novam recensionem elaborasse censendus est." — *Cura in Epist. Paulin.*, Sect. I. § 17. See also what precedes and follows.

† Symb. Crit., I. p. cviii.

‡ Symb. Crit., I. p. cxix.

§ Prolegom. in N. T., Sect. III.

|| Symb. Crit., I. p. cxx.

¶ Symb. Crit., I. p. cxix.

** Comment. Crit., Partic. I. p. 68.

†† Comment. Crit., Partic. II. p. lvii.

recension to which it belongs. All the authorities of one class, as they are all derived from one standard text, are to be considered only as a single evidence. The comparative authority of the different recensions, each being considered as a single evidence, and their agreement or disagreement with each other, are alone to be *ultimately* regarded, in determining the probability of different readings from authority or external evidence. Our existing documents are *direct* authority, not for the original text of the New Testament, but only for the text of the recension, to which they respectively belong.

In his "Introduction to the Old and New Testaments," Bertholdt explains at length the opinions of Griesbach, and ascribes to him "the immortal honor of having first fully comprehended, and clearly explained," the system of the classification of authorities. The foundations of this system, he considers as immovable. Still he regards it as in some respects defective and objectionable. "Griesbach's system of criticism," he says, "taking its commencement from the two oldest recensions, which had their origin in the last half of the second century, leaves untouched the long period from the composition of the writings of the New Testament to the middle of that century." He refers to an article in a German journal, written by Griesbach himself, in which Bertholdt says that Griesbach expressly professes "to have had no higher purpose than to restore the text, in all its essential parts, such as it existed in the two original collections, which were made, one of the Gospels called *Εὐαγγέλιον*, and the other of the Epistles called *Ἀπόστολος*." "As it regards the original text," says the too rhetorical critic, "he passes from the bounds of the *empirical* and throws himself into the arms of the *higher* criticism; judging of what was

originally written only by the intrinsic goodness of the reading." *

Such are the accounts given by Griesbach and his followers of the hypothesis of recensions of the New Testament; but what has been alleged from him is not consistent with what is found elsewhere in his writings. I will now quote from one of his earliest works, and from his latest; his *Curæ in Epistolas Paulinas*, and his *Commentarius Criticus*.

In the former, he supposes, that the undisputed Epistles (*αἱ ὁμολογούμεναι*) were collected into a volume before the middle of the second century, though he expresses a doubt whether it were done so early. This collection was called *ὁ Ἀπόστολος* (the *Apostolos*). "It cannot be determined," he says, "whether the text of this collection was derived from the very originals, or from copies of particular Epistles, or from some partial collections. We may readily believe, that the editor transcribed one or two Epistles from the originals; but it is hardly probable that they were all so copied. It is enough for us that the collection exhibited a sufficiently genuine text; and had no false readings, which would either remarkably change the sense, or corrupt and deprave the doctrine of the apostles. For, as the collection was received by all the catholic churches, not excepting those to whom the Epistles had formerly been written, we may infer that no one suspected the editor of changing or interpolating their text; but that this edition agreed with those copies, which, being taken from the originals, were already in the hands of many learned men before the collection was published." The Epistles being thus brought together into a volume, and the collec-

* Bertholdt's *Einleitung*, Part I. p. 317.

tion being published, copies of it were soon multiplied. But it is not probable that those more ancient manuscripts, which were in existence before its publication, were thrown aside or destroyed by their possessors. Every one retained that which he had before used, merely adding those Epistles which he found wanting in his copy. "From this time," continues Griesbach, "there were two sorts of manuscripts; one the copies of those which existed before the collection, the *Apostolos*, was formed; and the other, copies of the latter, of the new edition." "Here then," he says, "we discover, unless I am altogether deceived, *the origin of two different recensions!* Deprehendimus igitur, nisi nos fallunt omnia, *duarum recensio- num diversarum incunabula!*" The italics and the note of admiration are his own. The Latins were more tenacious of the ancient manuscripts. The Greeks, among whom there were more ready transcribers of Greek, and among whom, therefore, a new Greek manuscript could be more easily procured, gradually laid aside those obsolete copies, and adopted in their stead transcripts of the collection. "If the text of the *Apostolos* was freed by the editor from some Hebraisms, and forms of expression unusual among native Greeks, it might be more agreeable to them, than that harsher Western recension in which they were retained. Into the latter, however, many glosses early found their way, but such as regarded the sense, more than the Greek idiom." Griesbach then proceeds to point out what he supposes the characteristics of these two classes of manuscripts, as they were propagated by transcribers. They are the same which he has assigned respectively to the Western and Alexandrine recensions, in his Prolegomena to the New Testament.*

* Curæ in Epist. Paulin., Sect. II. § 12—§ 15.

Here, then, we have one of his earliest accounts of what he calls the Western and Alexandrine recensions. Its inconsistency with what we have before quoted is obvious. There was, according to this account, no Western *recension*, in the sense in which he elsewhere uses the term. There was no standard text for manuscripts of this class but the original text. It is to this, that the authorities belonging to the Western class, according to Griesbach's own statement, carry us back directly, without the intervention of any critical edition. The Alexandrine and Western texts are not equally ancient; the former is derived from the *Apostolos*, the latter from the originals. One of the only two more ancient recensions, which he supposes, is struck out. The existence, indeed, even of an Alexandrine *recension* seems not very confidently stated. But, allowing the existence of the latter, yet, according to what has been quoted, each manuscript of the Western class is to be referred to the original text as its archetype, and not to be regarded merely as determining the text of a subsequent critical edition. It is not to my immediate purpose to insist upon the fact, that the statements which we have quoted, so far as they imply any peculiar theory, are merely conjectural; though it may be worth while for every one studying the works of German scholars, to attend well to the distinction between what is asserted and what is proved. All, with which we are at present concerned, is the inconsistency of those statements with Griesbach's principles of criticism.

In his *Commentarius Criticus*, the whole doctrine of two standard texts, the Western and Alexandrine, may be considered as abandoned. In this work, he remarks upon a new theory, or rather upon a new modification of his

own theory, proposed by Hug.* Hug supposes, that there were no *recensions* before the middle of the third century. Previously to that time, there existed only the *common edition*, ἑκδοσις κοινή, derived without intervention from the original text; and to this he refers the principal Western authorities, and the quotations of Clement and Origen; thus, like other critics, blending together Griesbach's Western and Alexandrine recensions. Upon this Griesbach remarks; "In the first place, respecting the Western recension, or the *common edition*, there is a sufficient agreement between Hug and myself. I did not suppose that we were indebted for its original formation to the labor of any learned man, revising a copy before him, and settling the text by the collation of manuscripts according to his own judgment; but I rather supposed that it was derived from ancient copies of single books of the New Testament, or from partial collections of those books. Not a few manuscripts of this kind were in general circulation before the publication of the *Εὐαγγέλιον* (*Evangely*, collection of the Four Gospels), and the *Ἀπόστολος* (*Apostolos*), and were afterwards laid aside by the Greeks, but preserved by the Latins or Western Christians. But, although such was its origin, I did not hesitate to call the Western text a *recension*; partly, because, in works of criticism, mention is often to be made conjointly of the Alexandrine and Byzantine *recensions* and of the Western *text*, and therefore, for the sake of brevity, I thought that they might all not improperly be called by the common name of *recension*; partly, because I doubted whether it could be proved, by sufficient historical arguments, that the text of the other

* In the first volume of his Introduction to the N. T.

families, the Alexandrine and Byzantine, derived its origin, as regards either class, from the revision of any particular critic; and, lastly, because I was persuaded that the text of the Cambridge manuscript, which takes the lead among Western authorities, was transcribed from another, which some critic had diligently revised, upon certain principles. For these reasons I think I spoke without rashness of a *Western recension*."*

It cannot be necessary to remark at length upon this passage. Griesbach adopted, it seems, the word "*recension*" in preference to "*text*," or "*class*," or "*family*," or any other, because it suited two of the subjects to which it was applied, though it did not suit the other; because he doubted whether it was really more applicable to the two former than to the latter; and because, in his opinion, one manuscript, which he reckons of the Western class, actually exhibited a text, which might be called a *recension*.

NOTWITHSTANDING what has been quoted, however, Griesbach was still unwilling to give up the notion of a *recension*; and though he thinks, that the Western text was not that of a *recension*, and that no account is to be given of the author of the Alexandrine, he adopts the opinion of Hug, that we are indebted to Lucian for the Byzantine. On this subject Hug spreads out at length his baseless and wearisome speculations. The same opinion is likewise maintained by Eichhorn, in an examination extending through many pages; though the sentences with which it begins and ends throw something of a ludicrous character over the whole. He speaks of Lucian in connexion with another supposed editor of the New Testament, whom Hug had

* *Comment. Crit.*, Partic. II. p. xliii. seqq.

brought forward, Hesychius. "Unfortunately," says Eichhorn, in commencing, "*the Church* has preserved such an entire silence concerning these two men and their critical labors, that we should have no information whatever concerning their meritorious undertaking, if it were not for a few words of Jerome;" * and in concluding he says, that "upon the character of their texts not one poor word of testimony has come down to our times." † It is seldom that the scantiness of materials for framing an hypothesis has been so honestly avowed.

According to Jerome, Hesychius and Lucian each published an edition of the Septuagint, as Origen had done before them. The manuscripts of the Septuagint in the earlier times of Christianity varied much from each other; and a critical edition of it was, therefore, a praiseworthy labor; and is so spoken of by Jerome. The edition of Hesychius, he says, was used at Alexandria and in Egypt; that of Lucian, from Constantinople to Antioch; and that of Origen, in the provinces between. ‡ Hesychius, of whom very little is known or conjectured, is supposed to be the same Hesychius who was a bishop of Egypt, and died a martyr in the persecution of Diocletian. Lucian, who is spoken of with great respect, generally, by the more ancient writers who mention him, was a presbyter of Antioch, and suffered death in the same persecution.

Thus far we are informed only of *editions of the Septuagint*, published by Lucian and Hesychius. In another

* — "wenn nicht Hieronymus desselben mit ein paar Worten erwähnt hätte." Einleit. in d. N. T., IV. p. 276.

† Ibid. p. 331.

‡ Præfat. ad Paralipom. Opp. I. 1023. Ed. Martianay. Advers. Rufinum, Lib. II. Opp. IV. P. II. col. 425.

place Jerome says; "Lucian so labored in the study of the Scriptures, that to this day some copies are called after his name." * But the notion, that he and Hesychius published *editions of the New Testament*, which, in common with their editions of the Septuagint, obtained general circulation, is founded upon another passage of Jerome, the meaning of which I believe to have been misconceived. It is in the Preface to his Latin translation of the Gospels.†

In this Preface, he says of the Latin version or versions of the New Testament, that some passages have been incorrectly rendered, others more faultily emended by ignorant presumers, and others added or changed by negligent transcribers; that transcribers were accustomed to copy into one Gospel what they found in another; and that there were almost as many different standards (of the Latin version) as there were manuscripts. The state of the Latin version was such, that it was necessary to correct it by a comparison with the Greek original, which work he had accomplished as regarded the Gospels. "Yet who is there, he asks, "whether learned or unlearned, who, when he takes my volume into his hands, and finds that what he reads differs from what he has been accustomed to, will not immediately break out against me as a falsifier, as sacrilegious, for daring to add or alter or correct any thing in the ancient books;" that is, in the old Latin versions of the Gospels. But Jerome also thought, that the Latin version of the Old Testament, which had been made from the Septuagint, should be corrected and conformed to the original Hebrew, and thus further exposed himself to obloquy; since many regarded the Septuagint as an inspired

* De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, cap. 77. Opp. IV. P. II. col. 121.

† Opp. I. 1425.

version, the ultimate standard for the text of the Old Testament; while others, without deciding on the question of its inspiration, considered its authority as preëminent, and maintained that the introducing of new readings from the Hebrew into the Latin version of the Old Testament would only lead to evil.* Such being the case, Jerome is speaking in his Preface, somewhat confusedly, of versions, both of the Old Testament, and of the Gospels, and, in this connexion, introduces the passage which has served for a foundation to the theory of widely spread recensions of the New Testament, which had Lucian and Hesychius for their authors. Properly rendered it is, I believe, as follows:

"I pass over those manuscripts, named after Lucian and Hesychius, which are perversely contended for by a few individuals, who allow of no correction in the Old Testament which deviates from the Septuagint, and admit of no advantage from any correction in the New, though the translations of the Scriptures previously made into the languages of many different nations show that what has been added is spurious." †

* Vid. Augustini Epistolæ ad Hieronymum, ap. Hieron. Opp. IV. P. II. 602, 610. Rufini Invect. in Hieron., lb., col. 444, seqq. See also Jerome's Prefaces (Opp. I.) to Genesis, Joshua, Job, and other books translated by him from the Hebrew.

† "Prætermitto eos codices, quos, a Luciano et Hesychio nuncupatos, paucorum hominum asserit perversa contentio; quibus utique nec in Veteri Instrumento post septuaginta Interpretes emendare quid licuit, nec in Novo profuit emendasse; quum multarum gentium linguis Scriptura ante translata doceat falsa esse quæ addita sunt."

The passage has been understood as if *quibus* referred to Lucian and Hesychius; I conceive it to refer to *hominibus*. The former reference being given to the relative, the passage is understood thus: "I pass over those manuscripts, perversely contended for by a few individuals, which are named after Lucian and Hesychius,

If this rendering of the passage be correct, it contains no reference to any *editions of the New Testament* by Lucian and Hesychius. The manuscripts named after them were copies of their *editions of the Septuagint*. The authority of those copies was contended for by individuals, who believed that the Septuagint should be regarded as of ultimate authority in determining the sense of the Old Testament, and that its text was correctly given by one or the other of those editors; and who, at the same time, from similar prejudices, were unwilling to allow that any advantage would result from a revision and correction of the Latin version or versions of the New Testament. The spurious additions which Jerome speaks of were in Latin manuscripts of the New Testament, such as he represents as common in them, and unsupported by the Greek text.

But, as I have observed, the words of Jerome have been, in my opinion, misinterpreted, as implying that Lucian and Hesychius published editions of the New Testament, in which each made palpably spurious additions to the text, and that the credit of their copies was perversely maintained by a few individuals. If the passage be so understood, nothing would seem more hopeless than to erect on such a basis, a theory, that Lucian and Hesychius were the authors of two of the most important and widely spread recensions of the New Testament. But this labor, which had been suggested by Semler, was accomplished by Hug. According to him, Lucian's recension is essentially what Griesbach calls the Byzantine, and that of Hesychius corresponds, in

who had no right to vary from the Septuagint by making any alterations in the Old Testament, and gained nothing by any alterations in the New, since the translations of the Scriptures previously made into the languages of many different nations show that what has been added is spurious."

part, with Griesbach's Alexandrine. Hug, likewise, has found his followers; and Griesbach himself, as we have seen, adopted his theory respecting Lucian as the author of the Byzantine recension. But, in maintaining this theory, two particulars, the illustration of which is essential to its plausibility, have been overlooked. In the first place, according to the manner in which its defenders understand their only authority, Jerome, we know nothing of the internal character of the edition either of Lucian or Hesychius, but that it was distinguished by obviously spurious additions which Jerome rejected from his version. Now, Jerome's version being extant, if it be contended that any Greek manuscripts, Alexandrine or Byzantine, are to be referred to the supposed editions of Lucian and Hesychius, what is first to be done is to show, that they possess the only characteristic of those editions with which we are acquainted, namely, that they contain spurious additions not to be found in Jerome's version. This however has not been attempted. In the next place, it has not been explained, how those editions could have been so widely circulated and so generally approved, when Jerome, whose testimony is all that can be produced in the case, is understood as affirming that their authority was perversely maintained by a few; when he, the most learned father of his age, is believed to have censured them without reserve; and when no praise and no defence of them is anywhere to be found.

BUT it may be said, that admitting that Lucian was not the author of the supposed Byzantine recension, or of any other, and admitting that no Alexandrine, nor Western recension existed, still there must have been a Byzantine recension; for, if we may trust the statements of those who

have made the criticism of the text of the New Testament their particular study, there is an agreement among a majority of modern manuscripts written since the tenth century in a considerable number of various readings, in which they differ from a majority of the most ancient authorities. But to this the answer is, that there seems to be no difficulty in accounting for the phenomenon, without the supposition of a Byzantine *recension*, in the sense in which that term has been used. In every distinct region, where many copies of the Greek Testament were written, a prevalent text was likely to be formed, unlike in some slight shades to that prevalent elsewhere. In different places, the operation of different causes and accidents would produce dissimilar variations from the pure text. In the fourth or fifth century, the prevalent text at Constantinople was probably distinguishable from the prevalent text at Alexandria. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, without supposing the operation of any extraordinary causes, a text must have prevailed in the former city in some degree peculiar. But extraordinary causes were at that time and had been long before in operation, to form and to perpetuate a Byzantine text capable of being discriminated from any other. These causes are to be found in the circumstances of the Christian world.

Before the tenth century the Greek Empire had been gradually sinking toward that state in which it was at last reduced, to use the words of Gibbon, "to a narrow corner of Europe, to the lonely suburbs of Constantinople"; though during that century it expanded itself again for a moment. The followers of Mahomet had twice besieged its metropolis. Beyond its limits the knowledge of the Greek language was rapidly disappearing; all Grecian literature, such as it was, flying from the Saracens and Northern barbarians, was

taking refuge in Constantinople or its neighbourhood ; and but few Greek manuscripts were written except within the walls of that city, or in the monasteries of Mount Athos, or others subject to the jurisdiction of its patriarch. A large majority of the manuscripts of the New Testament to be referred to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, concerning which we may ascertain where they were transcribed, either by a note in the manuscript itself, or other probable evidence, were copied at Mount Athos or Constantinople. Two of them were transcribed by patriarchs of the Greek church, both in the eleventh century, one by Sergius II., and the other by Michael Cerularius,* the two patriarchs who renewed and consummated the schism which separated the Greek church from the Roman. At Mount Athos and at Constantinople transcribers, in the near neighbourhood of each other, may be supposed often to have used, in common, exemplars having the same text, or to have compared their respective texts together, and adjusted the one to the other. They were principally ecclesiastics, and, it is reasonable to suppose, wrote under ecclesiastical supervision ; especially when we find two patriarchs so interested in the work as to take a share of the labor. There had likewise been a sort of revival of Greek literature at Constantinople ; and the eleventh and twelfth centuries were distinguished for verbal critics, scholiasts, and commentators. The spirit of the age was likely to cause attention to be given to the minutiae of various readings in the New Testament, and would lead therefore to the forming and preserving of a uniform text. But the manuscripts written in the Greek Patriarchy during the two centuries mentioned, and the

* See the Catalogue of MSS. of the N. T. in Scholz's *Prolegomena* to his N. T., numbers 39 and 437.

copies which have been made from them, constitute a large majority of modern manuscripts. We are, therefore, without supposing any Byzantine recension properly so called, able to account for the peculiarities of their text, and their great resemblance to each other, characteristics, it is to be observed, which belong only to a majority of modern manuscripts and are far from being common to all. I may add, that in accounting for the peculiarities of the more modern text, it is obvious that we account, at the same time, for those of the more ancient, since the latter are correlative to the former, consisting of passages in which the two texts vary from each other.

From what has been said, I think it evident, that the appearances in our authorities for settling the text of the New Testament afford no countenance to the theory of recensions, maintained by Griesbach and other critics; that there is no ground for a distinction between an Alexandrine and a Western text, of which Griesbach represents the difference as so great, and that the peculiarities of the Byzantine text may be explained without recourse to the supposition of a recension. The hypothesis is equally destitute of historical evidence; yet it is incredible that we should not have found in ancient authors frequent mention of those supposed recensions, if they had actually been made. So far from this, however, their existence is inconsistent with the few notices respecting the history of the text of the New Testament, contained in the writers of the first four centuries. The Alexandrine recension is supposed by Griesbach to have been formed before the time of Origen, and to have been followed by the Alexandrine transcribers, and quoted by the Alexandrine Fathers. But, of the manuscripts of the New Testament, Origen says,

in a passage already adduced for a different purpose ;* “ It is evident there exists much difference among copies ; partly from the carelessness of some transcribers ; partly from the rashness of others in altering improperly what they find written ; and partly from those revisers who strike out or add according to their own judgment.” This passage seems to afford sufficient proof, that there was in his time no standard corrected text at Alexandria, no late Alexandrine recension, which transcribers and correctors of manuscripts felt themselves bound to follow. Again, the Byzantine recension is supposed to have become prevalent a little before the time of Chrysostom. Yet, according to a passage quoted from him by Scholz, the most ancient copies were so eagerly sought after, and the sellers of manuscripts were so little disposed to have it thought that their copies were conformed to any new recension, that the fraud was practised of burying manuscripts, lately written, in a heap of grain, in order so to discolor them as to give them an appearance of antiquity. The same preference which we now have for the most ancient manuscripts, as approaching nearer the time of the autographs of the New Testament, and therefore being in general less likely to have suffered from the accidents of transcription, existed, as we might suppose, at an early period. Jerome, in the Preface to his Latin translation of the Gospels, says that he had corrected the errors before existing in the Latin copies by comparing together Greek manuscripts, that is, he proceeds to say, *ancient* manuscripts. Not a passage has been produced from any Christian writer of antiquity which speaks of a standard corrected text as of authority ; nothing answering to the abundant mention in modern writers of the corrected texts

* See page 71.

of Griesbach, Koppe, and others; nor is there a notice of any collection and comparison of the various readings of the New Testament, or of any book of the New Testament.

We may conclude, then, that all our present authorities for settling the text of the New Testament are to be referred to the original text, as their nearer or more remote standard, without the intervention of such recensions as have been supposed. This conclusion is important in regard to the history and criticism of the text of the New Testament, and especially as strengthening our confidence, which the theory of Griesbach is adapted to weaken, in the genuineness and authority of such a corrected text as we have at the present day ample means of forming.

THIS confidence is still more likely to be weakened by the extravagant language of Griesbach, and other modern critics, respecting the differences among their imaginary recensions, or, what amounts to the same thing, among our authorities for settling the text of the New Testament. How extravagant this language is, has already appeared; but its want of any proper foundation may be made still more apparent. I propose, therefore, to add a few remarks on the character and importance of the various readings of the New Testament.

SECTION III.

On the Character and Importance of the Various Readings of the New Testament.

WHEN attention was first strongly directed to the number of various readings upon the *Received Text* of the New Testament, and the critical edition of Mill was published,

which was said to contain thirty thousand,* two classes of individuals were very differently affected. Some sincerely religious men, among whom was Whitby, who wrote expressly against the labors of Mill, were apprehensive that the whole text of the New Testament, the foundation of our faith, would be unsettled; while the infidels of the age, among whom Collins was prominent, were ready, with other feelings, to adopt the same opinion. The whole number of various readings of the text of the New Testament that have hitherto been noted exceeds a hundred thousand, and may perhaps amount to a hundred and fifty thousand.

But this number is, I presume, less in proportion, than that of the various readings extant upon most classic authors, when compared with the quantity of text examined, and the number of manuscripts and other authorities collated in each particular case.† How such an

* That is to say, thirty thousand variations from the Received Text. But when the Received Text varies from other authorities, its readings should also be considered as various readings of the text of the New Testament. Including these, therefore, Mill's edition presents about sixty thousand various readings.

† Bentley in his "Remarks on Free-thinking," in answer to Collins, says:

"Terence is now in one of the best conditions of any of the classic writers; the oldest and best copy of him is now in the Vatican library, which comes nearest to the poet's own hand; but even that has hundreds of errors, most of which may be mended out of other exemplars, that are otherwise more recent and of inferior value. I myself have collated several, and do affirm that I have seen twenty thousand various lections in that little author, not near so big as the whole New Testament; and am morally sure, that if half the number of manuscripts were collated for Terence with that niceness and minuteness which has been used in twice as many

amount of various readings exists upon the text of ancient works, we may understand, when we consider, what every one who has had experience on the subject is aware of, that no written copy of an exemplar of any considerable length, if made only with ordinary care, is without variations and errors. Notwithstanding the extreme care which has in some cases been taken, it is doubtful whether even a

for the New Testament, the number of the variations would amount to above fifty thousand.

"In the manuscripts of the New Testament, the variations have been noted with a religious, not to say superstitious exactness. Every difference in spelling, in the smallest particle or article of speech, in the very order or collocation of words without real change, has been studiously registered. Nor has the text only been ransacked, but all the ancient versions, the Latin vulgate, Italic, Syriac, Æthiopic, Arabic, Coptic, Armenian, Gothic, and Saxon; nor these only, but all the dispersed citations of the Greek and Latin Fathers in a course of five hundred years. What wonder then, if with all this scrupulous search in every hole and corner, the varieties rise to thirty thousand? when in all ancient books of the same bulk, whereof the manuscripts are numerous, the variations are as many or more, and yet no versions to swell the reckoning.

"The editors of profane authors do not use to trouble their readers, or risk their own reputation, by an useless list of every small slip committed by a lazy or ignorant scribe. What is thought commendable in an edition of Scripture, and has the name of fairness and fidelity, would in them be deemed impertinence and trifling. Hence the reader not versed in ancient manuscripts is deceived into an opinion, that there were no more variations in the copies, than what the editor has communicated. Whereas, if the like scrupulousness was observed in registering the smallest changes in profane authors, as is allowed, nay required in sacred, the now formidable number of thirty thousand would appear a very trifle.

"It is manifest that books in verse are not near so obnoxious to variations as those in prose; the transcriber, if he is not wholly ignorant and stupid, being guided by the measures, and hindered from such alterations as do not fall in with the laws of numbers.

printed book exists which corresponds throughout to its proposed archetype, or which in other words is wholly free from *errata*. There is no hazard in saying that the variations in the printed copies of King James's Version of the Bible, such variations as are noted in the manuscripts of the New Testament, are to be reckoned by tens of thousands; and if, as in the case of the Greek text of the New

And yet even in poets the variations are so very many as can hardly be conceived without use and experience. In the late edition of Tibullus by the learned Mr. Broukhuijs, you have a register of various lections in the close of that book; where you may see at the first view that they are as many as the lines. The same is visible in Plautus set out by Pareus. I myself, during my travels, have had the opportunity to examine several manuscripts of the poet Manilius; and can assure you that the variations I have met with are twice as many as all the lines of the book." — pp. 93–95. 8th Ed.

To take a few books immediately at hand, I perceive by a loose computation from a table at the end of Wakefield's Lucretius, that he has collected about twelve thousand various readings of that author (exclusive of mere differences of orthography), from five printed copies only. Weiske's edition of Longinus presents more than three thousand various readings of the Treatise on the Sublime, a work of about the length of the Gospel of Mark, collected from eight manuscripts and two early editions. And Bekker has published *variations from his text* of the writings contained in his edition of Plato, which fill seven hundred and seventy-eight crowded octavo pages, and amount to I know not how many more than sixty thousand; the manuscripts used on each of the different writings being on an average about thirteen. The various readings of the New Testament, it is to be remembered, have been collected from a very great number of manuscripts of the original, manuscripts of numerous ancient versions in which it is not to be supposed that the translator always rendered in a manner scrupulously literal, and also from the citations of a long series of Fathers, who, we know, were not commonly attentive to verbal accuracy in quoting.

Testament, we were to take the quotations of different writers into account, by hundreds of thousands. But, in multiplying copies by transcription, the number of errors resulting will be vastly greater than in multiplying the same number of copies by the press; since the same or rather far more liability to error will exist in the case of every particular copy transcribed, as exists in regard to a whole edition of printed copies. With these general views, it is not necessary to dwell on the particular causes of mistakes and errors in ancient manuscripts, which are more numerous than may at first thought be supposed. They have been often pointed out by different writers.

I proceed then to observe, that, of the various readings of the New Testament, nineteen out of twenty, at least, are to be dismissed at once from consideration,—not on account of their intrinsic unimportance,—that is a separate consideration,—but because they are found in so few authorities, and their origin is so easily explained, that no critic would regard them as having any claim to be inserted in the text. Of those which remain a very great majority are entirely unimportant. They consist in different modes of spelling; in different tenses of the same verb or different cases of the same noun, not affecting the essential meaning; in the use of the singular for the plural, or the plural for the singular, where one or the other expression is equally suitable; in the insertion or omission of particles, such as $\alpha\iota$ and $\delta\epsilon$, not affecting the sense, or of the article in cases equally unimportant; in the introduction of a proper name, where if not inserted, the personal pronoun is to be understood, or of some other word or words expressive of a sense which would be distinctly implied without them; in the addition of “Jesus” to “Christ” or “Christ” to “Jesus”; in the substitution

of one synonymous or equivalent term for another ; in the transposition of words leaving their signification the same ; in the use of an uncompounded verb, or of the same verb compounded with a preposition, the latter differing from the former only in a shade of meaning ; and in a few short passages, liable to the suspicion of having been copied into the Gospel where we find them from some other Evangelist. Such various readings, and others equally unimportant, compose far the greater part of all, concerning which there may be or has been a question, whether they are to be admitted into the text or not, and it is therefore obviously of no consequence in which way the question has been or may be determined.

But after deducting from the whole amount of various readings, first those of no authority, and next those of no importance, a number will remain which are objects of a certain degree of curiosity and interest. To three of them an extravagant importance has been attached from their supposed bearing upon the theological doctrine of the Trinity. But the principal of these, the famous passage in the first Epistle of John, (v. 7,) is a manifest interpolation, being found only in three manuscripts of the Greek Testament, one a forgery written to give it credit, a transcript from the Complutensian Polyglot, and the other two being of so late a date that it is doubtful, whether either of them was written before the invention of printing. In the case of this and of the other two passages referred to, and of most other passages, where the true reading is a matter of any interest, we may commonly arrive at a satisfactory or probable judgment concerning it ; and, in the few cases in which we cannot, it is clear that no opinion and no inference whatever, respecting the meaning of the writer, is to be founded upon an *uncertain* reading.

The Received Text, as it has been called, of the New Testament, that is, the text which for almost two centuries, till after the time of Griesbach, was found with little variation in the common editions of the New Testament, was formed during the sixteenth century, with comparatively few helps, and in the exercise of no great critical judgment. But the chief value of the immense amount of labor, which has since been expended upon the text of the New Testament, does not consist in its having effected improvements in the Received Text. All those of any importance might have been made at a much less cost. Its chief and great value consists in establishing the fact, that the text of the New Testament has been transmitted to us with remarkable integrity; that far the greater part of the variations among different copies are of no authority or no importance; and that it is a matter scarcely worth consideration, as regards the study of our religion and its history, whether, after making a very few corrections, we take the Received Text formed as it was, or the very best which the most laborious and judicious criticism might produce.

In his edition of the New Testament, Griesbach presents the Received Text in constant comparison with his own. He notes conspicuously, as preferable, or probable, or deserving attention, all those variations from it, which he so regards, when he does not admit them into his text. The comparison between all the readings, which have in his view any grade of probability, is thus rendered a mere matter of ocular inspection. As a fair specimen of the whole I will give all those which he thus presents on the first eight chapters of Matthew. When it may be done, I will express the change in English; but in some cases the variation is so trifling, as to admit of no corresponding variation in a translation. The first column of the following table con-

tains the readings of the Received Text; the second, the variations from it. These unaccompanied with any note (except here and there a remark of my own) are what Griesbach has admitted into his text. In other cases I have noted with sufficient distinctness the degree of probability that he assigns to them.*

RECEIVED TEXT.	VARIATIONS ADOPTED OR SUGGESTED BY GRIESBACH.
Ch. i. v. 1. Δαβὶδ 6. Σολομῶννα 18. <i>Jesus</i> γέννησις (<i>generation</i>) 19. παραδυσμάρτης (<i>to</i> <i>expose to shame</i>)	Δαβὶδ } The names of David and Σολομῶννα } Solomon differently spelt. perhaps to be omitted. γέννησις (<i>birth</i>) perhaps δυσμάρτης (<i>to expose</i>)
22. οὐ	perhaps to be omitted.
Ch. ii. v. 8. <i>carefully search out</i>	perhaps, <i>search out carefully</i>
9. ἵeron	perhaps, ἱερῶν: (no change in the sense.)
11. <i>they found</i>	<i>they saw</i>
15. οὐ	perhaps to be omitted.
17. οὐ	perhaps, δὲ
18. <i>lamentation and</i>	probably to be omitted.
22. καὶ	perhaps to be omitted.
Ch. iii. v. 1. δὲ	perhaps to be omitted.
3. οὐ	perhaps, δὲ
8. <i>fruit's worthy</i>	<i>fruit worthy</i>
10. καὶ	perhaps to be omitted.
11. <i>with fire</i>	perhaps to be omitted. (If so, it was borrowed from Luke iii. 16, where there is no doubt of its genuineness.)

* I have used both Griesbach's last critical edition and his manual edition; but of course have not quoted those readings of the latter which he notices only as on some account remarkable, and which are not such as he admits between the lines below the text of his critical edition.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 12. his wheat | perhaps, the wheat |
| Ch. iv. v. 4. a man | perhaps, man (δ being added before ἄνθρωπος.) |
| ἰσὶ (upon) | probably, in (by) |
| 5. sets ("sets him on the pinnacle of the temple") | perhaps, set |
| 10. Go from me, Satan | Go behind me, Satan (the words ἔξω μου being added by Griesbach.) |
| 12. Jesus | probably to be omitted. |
| 13. Καφαρναούμ | probably, Καφαρναούμ (a different spelling of the name of the city, Capernaum.) |
| 18. Jesus | omitted. |
| Ch. v. v. 9. αὐτοῖ | perhaps to be omitted: (no change can be made in a translation.) |
| 11. ψευδόμενοι (speaking falsely) | perhaps to be omitted. |
| 20. ἡ συναγωγή ἡμῶν | perhaps, ἡμῶν ἡ συναγωγή |
| 25. whilst thou art in the way with him | perhaps, whilst thou art with him in the way |
| 27. to them of old time | omitted. |
| 28. αὐτοῖς | probably, αὐτῶν |
| 31. ἱεῖ | perhaps to be omitted. |
| 32. whoever shall put away | perhaps, every one putting away |
| 44. bless those who curse you, do good to those who hate you | probably to be omitted. (If so, it was borrowed from Luke.) |
| In the last clause, if it be retained, for τοὺς μισούντας | τοῖς μισούν |
| despitefully use you (rather, harass you) and | perhaps to be omitted. (If so, it was borrowed from Luke.) |
| 47. brethren publicans do thus | perhaps, friends gentiles |
| 48. ὅτι | perhaps, do the same |
| | perhaps ὅτι |

- your father in heaven probably, your heavenly father
- Ch. vi. v. 1. *alms* *righteousness* (The propriety of this change is doubtful.)
4. *alēis* ("he will reward you") perhaps to be omitted. (So as to read "will reward you," only).
- openly probably to be omitted.
5. *when thou prayest, thou shalt not be* perhaps, *when ye pray, ye shall not be*
- ā,* probably to be omitted.
- that* ("that they have their reward") *that*, probably to be omitted.
6. *τῷ* ("pray to thy Father who is in secret") perhaps to be omitted. (So as to read "pray to thy Father in secret.")
- openly probably to be omitted.
13. *For thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory for ever. Amen.* omitted. (When our Lord's prayer was used in the liturgies of the ancient church, this doxology was subjoined; and transcribers, being accustomed to it in this connexion, introduced it into their copies.)
15. *their offences* probably to be omitted.
16. *that* ("that they have their reward") *that*, probably to be omitted.
18. *ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν* (twice) perhaps *ἀφ' αὐτῶν* (an improbable suggestion.)
- openly omitted.
21. *your treasure* perhaps, *thy treasure*
- your heart* perhaps, *thy heart*
24. *παρρησίᾳ* *παρρησίᾳ*
25. *and what ye may drink* probably to be omitted. (If so, it was borrowed from Luke.)
34. *τὰ* (in the Common Version rendered "the things of") probably to be omitted.
- Ch. vii. v. 2. *ἀντιμετρήσεως* (it shall be measured in return) *μετρήσεως* (it shall be measured)
9. *ἵνα* perhaps to be omitted.

12. οὗτος (<i>this</i>)	perhaps, οὕτως (<i>thus</i>)
14. "Ὅτι" ("Because strait is the gate")	Τί ("How strait is the gate")
Ch. viii. v. 2. ἰλθὼν (<i>coming</i>)	perhaps, προσελθὼν (<i>coming up,</i> namely, to him.)
3. Jesus	perhaps to be omitted.
4. Ματθαῖ	perhaps Μαυῦσῆς
5. τῷ Ἰησοῦ (as Jesus was entering")	αὐτῷ ("as he was entering")
6. λόγος	λόγῳ
13. ἰναυτοτάραχῃ	ἰναυτοτάραχῃ
15. αὐτοῖς ("waited upon them")	perhaps, αὐτῷ ("waited upon him")
25. αὐτοῦ ("his disci- ples")	omitted, ("the disciples")
28. Gergesenes	probably, Gerasenes; perhaps, Ga- darenes
29. Jesus	omitted.
31. suffer us to go	send us
32. the herd of swine "the herd of swine"	the swine of swine, omitted.

Such are the various readings which have been represented by other critics beside Griesbach as rendering one text different from another in its whole conformation and entire coloring.

Of the passages of more importance in the Gospels, concerning which there is reason to think that they did not proceed from the evangelists, I shall speak in a following section. Those, however, in the Gospel of Matthew are not various readings, nor is there any reasonable doubt that they always made a part of our present Greek Gospel. Whether they likewise were to be found in the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew as it came from the pen of the Evangelist is another question. But, before proceeding to its examination, we will attend to the questions respecting the original language of Matthew's Gospel and its use by the Hebrew Christians.

SECTION IV.

On the Original Language of Matthew's Gospel, and its Use by the Hebrew Christians.

WE believe that Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew, meaning by that term the common language of the Jews of his time, because such is the uniform statement of all ancient writers who advert to the subject. To pass over others, whose authority is of less weight, he is affirmed to have written in Hebrew by Papias,* Irenæus,† Origen,‡ Eusebius,§ and Jerome; || nor does any ancient author advance a contrary opinion. This testimony is of the more weight, because, if there had been any prejudice on the subject, it would have operated against the common belief, as the prejudices of modern Christians have done. It would have led the great body of ancient Gentile Christians, from whom we receive the account, to prefer considering their Greek Gospel of Matthew as the original, not as a translation.

If we will not, then, reject the testimony of all Christian antiquity to a simple fact, in which there is no intrinsic improbability, we must believe that Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew. Nothing has been objected to that testimony which I can regard as of sufficient force to justify a protracted discussion. On the contrary, it is confirmed by the corresponding evidence of the Fathers, that the

* See before, p. 243. † See before, p. 113. ‡ See before, p. 131.

§ Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. c. 24. Questiones ad Marinum, ap. Maii Scriptorum Veterum Nov. Collect. Tom. I. p. 64.

|| The fact is stated or implied by Jerome in passages so numerous, that it is not worth while to refer to them particularly.

Hebrew original of Matthew was in common use (either in a pure or corrupt form) among Jewish Christians.

Those Christians formed a separate body from the Gentile Christians. One of the last notices of them in the New Testament is in the words addressed by the other Apostles to St. Paul, during his last visit to Jerusalem; "Thou seest, brother, what multitudes of Jews there are who believe, and *they are all zealous for the law*. But they have heard concerning thee, that thou art teaching all the Jews living among the Gentiles, to become apostates from Moses, telling them *not to circumcise their children, nor to observe the ancient customs.*"* The same attachment to their law continued to distinguish the great body of Jewish Christians, though there were freethinkers among them, who, as Origen says, "relinquished the ancient customs upon the pretence of expositions and allegories."† Even these however, there is no reason to doubt, retained the rite of circumcision. And, on the other hand, there were zealots who contended that the literal observance of the Jewish law was not only binding upon Jewish, but equally upon Gentile Christians. As a general distinction, the Jewish Christians believed Christ to have been only a man, in opposition to the doctrine of his divine nature, in some sense or other, which began early to be maintained by the Gentile Fathers. Some of their number at the same time received, and others rejected, the doctrine of his miraculous conception. And beside the differences which have been mentioned, the separation between the Jewish and Gentile Christians was undoubtedly in a great degree produced and perpetuated by the feelings with which Jews and Gentiles had previously, for an indefinite time,

* Acts xxi. 20, 21.

† Origen. cont. Celsum, Lib. II. n. 3. Opp. I. 388.

regarded each other. In the second century the Jewish Christians, generally, were considered as heretics, and denominated Ebionites.

It is evident from the internal character of Matthew's Gospel, and it is a fact generally admitted, that he wrote particularly for Jewish Christians; and in proof of their actual use of it, we have the early and unsuspecting testimony of Irenæus. Speaking of them under the name of Ebionites, he repeatedly mentions briefly, as if it were a fact of common notoriety, that they used the Gospel of Matthew alone.* By the name of Ebionites the Jewish Christians continued to be denominated till the time of Epiphanius in the fourth century. Epiphanius divides them into Ebionites and Nazarenes, being the first writer who uses the latter name as that of an heretical sect. His unsupported authority deserves no credit, when he relates what is improbable, or attacks the character of those whom he assails, or was under any temptation to falsehood. But I can perceive no ground for distrusting the main truth of his assertions respecting the use which the Hebrew Christians made of the Gospel of Matthew. Of those whom he calls Nazarenes, he says; "They have the Gospel of Matthew very complete; for it is well known that this is preserved among them, as it was first written, in Hebrew."† His want of accuracy, however, appears in what he immediately subjoins; "But I do not know whether they take away the genealogy from Abraham to Christ;" from which words we may conclude, likewise, that he had not seen the book of which he speaks. Of those whom he calls Ebionites, he says, that they used the Gospel of

* *Cont. Hæres. Lib. I. c. 26. § 2. Lib. III. c. 11. § 7.*

† *Opp. I. 124.*

Matthew alone, in the original Hebrew, calling it *the Gospel according to the Hebrews*; and the truth is, he adds, that Matthew alone, of all the writers of the New Testament, composed in Hebrew.* Afterwards he says, that their Gospel of Matthew was not complete, but corrupted and curtailed. It did not, according to him, contain the first two chapters of our present Greek Gospel of Matthew;† and that these were wanting in copies used by Hebrew Christians is a fact confirmed by other evidence.

From what we find in Epiphanius, taken in connexion with the testimony of Irenæus, we may infer, that it had been the common belief among Gentile Christians from before the time of Irenæus to his own, that the Jewish Christians used the original of Matthew's Gospel in a pure or corrupted state. The Jewish Christians, consequently, affirmed that they used Matthew's Gospel; for otherwise such a belief would not have prevailed.

We now, however, come to a writer whose evidence is of still more importance. About the end of the fourth century Jerome states, that Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew; that it was uncertain by whom it was translated into Greek; that a copy of the Hebrew original was still preserved in the library at Cæsarea which had been formed by the martyr Pamphilus; and that he had obtained leave to transcribe the work from the Nazarenes of Beroëa in Syria, by whom it was used.‡ Afterwards, speaking of this same work under the name of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, he mentions that he had translated it both into Greek and Latin; and repeatedly observes that it was

* Opp. I. 127.

† Opp. I. 137, 138.

‡ Catal. Vir. Illust. in Matth. Opp. Tom. IV. P. II. col. 102.

generally considered (*ut plerique autumant*) as the Gospel of Matthew.*

When Jerome and others spoke of the Gospel of the Hebrews as the Gospel of Matthew, it is to be understood, that they regarded it as his Gospel somewhat altered and interpolated. Under the name of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, one passage not found in Matthew is quoted from it by Clement of Alexandria; and two by Origen. Eusebius, speaking of it by that name, says it was the only Gospel used by the Ebionites; as Irenæus had before said of the Gospel of Matthew; and mentions that it contained a story of a woman accused before the Lord of many crimes. Epiphanius professes to give some quotations from the Gospel used by the Ebionites in which it varied from Matthew; and Jerome, in his different writings, specifies a number of such passages which he found in the gospel translated by him. We may reasonably conclude, that it was in consequence of such interpolations, that it ceased to be regarded by the Gentile Christians as a book of canonical authority, and was distinguished from the genuine Gospel of Matthew, by being called the Gospel according to the Hebrews.†

But all the interpolations and changes, mentioned by Jerome and other fathers, bear but a very small proportion to the contents of the Gospel of Matthew; yet it is probable, that Jerome has noticed all or nearly all the remarkable variations existing in his copy of the Gospel of the Hebrews.

* *Advers. Pelagianos*, Lib. III. Opp. Tom. IV. P. II. col. 533. — Comment. in Matth. xii. 13. Opp. Tom. IV. P. I. col. 47.

† Vid. Fabricii Cod. Apocr. N. T., or Jones on the Canon. The passages that have been preserved of the Gospel of the Hebrews, in which it varied from the Gospel of Matthew, may be found in either of the works referred to.

Throughout far the greater part of their contents, the two books must have coincided with each other; or it would not have been believed that they were originally the same, either by Jerome, who had made himself so well acquainted with the Gospel of the Hebrews in one of its forms, or by the numerous readers who might compare his translations with Matthew's Gospel. But if they did so coincide with each other, there seems no room for any other conclusion than that this Gospel was, in its primitive state, the work of Matthew. When two books agree in much the greater part of their contents, they are so far the same book; and the obvious inference is, that they were originally the same book.

I may add, that the passages quoted as the peculiarities of the Gospel of the Hebrews are most of them very foreign from the style of Matthew, or the other evangelists. Supposing the Gospel of the Hebrews to have been originally that of Matthew, their intrinsic character would show them to be interpolations; and, as it is impossible that any one should have mistaken a gospel written throughout in the style of those passages for the Gospel of Matthew, it follows, that they were as little in accordance with the general character of the Gospel of the Hebrews. In other words, supposing, as we must, the greater part of this Gospel to have been in the style of Matthew, the passages quoted are many of them evidently from a different hand, not the work of the original author, and therefore afford no proof that the original author was not Matthew.

It is common to speak of the Gospel of the Hebrews as having, at least in the time of Epiphanius, existed in two distinct *editions*, as the Gospel of the Nazarenes and the Gospel of the Ebionites. But there seems no foundation for this opinion. Epiphanius describes one copy of it, and

Jerome translated another ; but neither they, nor, as we may safely believe, any other of the Gentile Christians had collated different copies. With one exception, about which there is no doubt, namely, that the copies of it might be divided into two classes, one of which contained, and the other did not contain, the first two chapters of our present Greek Gospel of Matthew ; there seems no reason to suppose, that there were variations among them, arising from their being conformed to two different standards. Generally, the interpolations that existed were, it is probable, the result of various causes operating indiscriminately upon the manuscripts transcribed. There is no reason to believe, that they drew their origin from two separate editors, by whom the Gospel of Matthew had been intentionally remodelled. The copy of which Epiphanius professes to give an account, and that seen by Jerome, may have been more corrupted than other copies previously extant in the second and third centuries. It is possible that other copies, even in the fourth century, approached much nearer to the pure text of Matthew ; which indeed Epiphanius asserts, in saying that the Nazarenes used the Gospel of Matthew in a very complete state, while at the same time he brings against it no charge of interpolation.

BUT it is evident, that the Jewish Christians generally did not feel proper solicitude to preserve the text of their Gospel uncorrupted ; and how is the fact to be explained ? I have said in the preceding part of this work, that the natural sentiments of men would prevent them from tampering, or allowing others to tamper, with their sacred books ; and have used this as an argument *a priori*, to show that the text of the Gospels was correctly preserved by the great body of

Christians. Is not this argument invalidated by the fact that has just been brought to notice ?

The answer is, that the Jewish Christians, from their first appearance as an heretical sect, did not regard the books of the New Testament as *sacred* books. Their sacred books were those of the Old Testament, of which they considered the canon as closed. They rejected the Epistles of St. Paul, not because they doubted their genuineness, but believing them to be genuine, and viewing him as an apostate from their Law. No Gospel except that of Matthew, nor any other book of the New Testament, was in common use among them. They did not, like the vast majority of Christians, regard Jesus as the founder of a new religion ; but only as a restorer of their old religion to its original purity. To think otherwise was in their opinion "to apostatize from Moses," * as St. Paul had taught his disciples to do. In acknowledging Jesus to be the Messiah, they regarded him as the Messiah of his followers among their nation, and of such others as might upon certain terms be associated with them ; and probably thought much less of what he had done or taught, than of what he would hereafter do for them, at his expected reappearance upon earth. According to Jerome they were anticipating, even in his time, the worldly delights of the coming millennium. † With these views and feelings, the history of Matthew suffered, in the hands of the Hebrew Christians, much the same fate, that any other book might have done among a body of men so illiterate. It was, we may suppose, carelessly copied ; the number of copies was small, and they were not compared together ; marginal additions, by a common mistake of transcribers, of which I have before spoken, and which I shall have repeated occasion to

* Acts xxi. 21.

† Comment. in Isaïæ Cap. lxvi. Opp. III. 511.

notice, were introduced into the text; and, there being a want of correct feeling respecting the importance of the work, as an original document of the highest value and authority, individuals might allow themselves to introduce some additions which they had received from hearsay. By such considerations we may, I think, explain the state in which Matthew's Gospel was found among the Hebrew Christians in consistency with all that has before been said.

We conclude, then, that Matthew's Gospel was originally written in Hebrew; and that it was preserved in this language, in a more pure or more corrupt state, by the Jewish Christians till about the fifth century; soon after which time the traces of their existence disappear from history.

SECTION V.

*On some Passages in the Received Text of the Gospels,
of which the Genuineness is doubtful.*

I.

THE FIRST TWO CHAPTERS OF THE PRESENT GREEK GOSPEL OF MATTHEW.

THE first passage to be examined consists of the first two chapters of Matthew's Gospel. There is no doubt that they have always made a part of our Greek translation; but this does not decide the question, whether they proceeded from the apostle. As has been already suggested, * they may have been an ancient document, written in Hebrew, originally a separate work, but which, on account of its small size and the connexion of its subject, was transcribed into manuscripts of the Hebrew original of Matthew, till in time it became

* See p. 22.

blended with his Gospel as a part of it, in some copies, one or more of which came into the hands of his translator.

The first point, then, to be attended to in this inquiry is the fact, that a portion of the copies of Matthew's Gospel used by the Hebrew Christians did not contain the chapters in question. This is affirmed by Epiphanius, and the truth of his statement is established by the testimony of preceding writers of higher authority, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Origen, and Eusebius, according to whom one part of the Jewish Christians did not believe the miraculous conception. I can perceive nothing in their prejudices or habits of mind, which could have led them to reject the belief of this fact, and especially to mutilate their Gospel in order to get rid of the account of it. But if this be so, as it is altogether improbable that the two chapters would be lost by accident from any number of copies, it follows that they were an addition to the original in the copies in which they were found, and not an omission in those in which they were wanting.

The chapters themselves are next to be examined, in order to determine whether the narrative contained in them, is such as we can believe to have proceeded from the apostle; and, in doing so, we must compare it with the account of the nativity given by Luke, which, there is no plausible reason for doubting, always made a part of his Gospel. Respecting this account, however, a few preliminary remarks are necessary.

I agree with many critics in supposing, that it existed in a written form in Hebrew, previously to the composition of Luke's Gospel, in which he inserted a translation of it, perhaps his own, perhaps one already made. The language differs from that of the rest of his Gospel, as being more conformed to the Hebrew idiom; and the cast of the narrative has something of a poetical, and even fabulous charac-

ter, very different from the severe simplicity, with which he, in common with the other evangelists, relates events in his own person. But his adopting this narrative proves that he regarded it as essentially true; and he would not have so regarded it, had not the *main facts*, respecting the birth of Jesus, been believed to be true, by the apostles and other early Christians with whom he associated. Now, considering that two and probably three of the apostles * were relatives of Jesus, and that others of their number, as John, were familiar with his mother and family, there can be no doubt that the belief of the apostles rested on information derived from them.

The account of Luke, then, being in its more important features conformable to the belief of the apostles, any other account inconsistent with this, or contradictory to it, cannot be received as proceeding from an apostle. Let us apply this test to the two chapters in question.

We are first struck with the discrepancy between the two genealogies given, the one by the author of those chapters, and the other by Luke. I shall not enter into an examination of the various attempts that have been made to show that both may be true. They are all conjectural, and each is exposed to particular objections of a nature to prevent its being received. If, for instance, according to a common notion, Luke had intended to give the genealogy of Mary, he would have said so. He would not have indicated his meaning so ambiguously and circuitously as by affirming that Joseph was the son of Heli, when he meant only that he was his son-in-law, Heli being Mary's father. But there is a general remark which applies to them all. If Matthew

* James the son of Alpheus and his brother Jude, and probably Simon the Canaanite.

were the author of the two chapters, the genealogy given by him was regarded as correct by the other apostles. So also we may infer with equal confidence, that the genealogy given by Luke was regarded by them as correct. It follows, then, that the apostles were acquainted with two genealogies, both correct, but at first view irreconcilable with each other, and the apparent contradiction of which has been regarded since the second century as presenting a serious difficulty. In giving either of the two, an apostle or evangelist, aware that it might be confronted by another, entitled to equal credit, would, we may reasonably believe, have had regard to this fact, and inserted a few words of explanation. As Luke then does not do this, we may conclude that no other genealogy of Joseph was known to him or the apostles. I say of Joseph; for, in some sense or other, Luke states Joseph to have been the son of Heli; and, as I have remarked, if he had meant his son-in-law only, and consequently had intended to give, not the natural genealogy of Joseph, but that of Mary, it is incredible that he should not have explained himself. The supposition is very unlikely, that according to the usages of the Jews there should have been two modes of reckoning the descent of the same individual, both equally proper, and neither of them, in itself considered, requiring explanation. We know nothing to countenance such an opinion.

9
If then, the genealogy contained in the two chapters be irreconcilable with that of Luke, it cannot have proceeded from Matthew. The most probable conjecture perhaps is, that we owe it, in common with the remainder of the two chapters, to some Hebrew convert who composed the narrative shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the Jews, and who, having found a genealogy of some individual by the name of Joseph, represented as a

descendant of David, mistook it for the genealogy of Joseph the husband of Mary.

As we proceed, the discrepancy between the account of the nativity of Jesus as contained in the two chapters, and the account of Luke, continues to be very striking.

According to Luke, Joseph and Mary dwelt in Nazareth. On the occasion of a proposed census, they both journeyed to Bethlehem, where Jesus was born, and where he was visited by shepherds, to whom his birth had been announced by angels. Forty days after his birth, that is when the days of Mary's purification, according to the law of Moses, had been accomplished, he was presented in the temple, when his high destiny was publicly announced. Then, after performing all the rites of the Law, Joseph and Mary returned to Nazareth.

The author of the two chapters, without mentioning any previous residence of Joseph and Mary at Nazareth, relates, that Jesus was born at Bethlehem; that certain Magi from the East, having seen his star, came to pay him reverence; that their inquiries at Jerusalem concerning the new-born king of the Jews threw Herod and the whole city into commotion; that they were directed by Herod to inform him when they had found the child, but were divinely warned to the contrary; and that Joseph was at the same time warned that the child's life was in danger, and directed to fly with him and his mother into Egypt, which he accordingly did, and remained there till after the death of Herod. In the account of Joseph's return, the writer shows that he supposed Bethlehem to have been his previous place of residence; for he represents him as only prevented by a new divine warning from returning to that city, and as led in consequence to take up his abode at Nazareth.

As it may be a matter of curiosity to those not familiar

with the subject, I will mention the manner in which it has been attempted to reconcile these two accounts. Luke says, (ii. 39,) that after the purification of Mary in the temple, "when they (Joseph and Mary) had performed all things according to the law of the Lord, they returned to Galilee, to their own town Nazareth." But it is contended, that though Luke has so expressed himself, yet the return to Nazareth, actually meant by him, was that following the flight into Egypt; that Joseph and Mary did not go from Jerusalem to Nazareth, but for some reason or other went to reside at Bethlehem; that during this residence at Bethlehem, the visit of the Magi took place; and consequently, that it was after the miraculous display of angels at the birth of Jesus, and after the predictions which accompanied his public presentation in the temple, that Jerusalem was first thrown into commotion, and the jealousy of Herod excited, by the reports and inquiries of those strangers.

This, then, is the second very improbable solution of an apparent contradiction between the account in the two chapters and the account of Luke; and it is to be observed that the improbability of the truth of any narrative increases in a very rapid ratio to the number of such solutions required.

We must consider, that if the account of Luke respecting the birth of Jesus be authentic in its essential features, it must have been derived from the mother and family of Jesus, as its *original* source; for they only could furnish an authentic account. But the circumstances related in the two chapters are of such a character, that they could not have been forgotten or omitted in their narrative, had they taken place; nor can we refer to the same authentic source, two narratives apparently so contradictory, in which scarcely a single circumstance coincides, and which in their general complexion present an aspect so different. The account of

Luke being that received by the apostles, we cannot believe another so unlike it to have proceeded from the apostle Matthew.

To the narrative in the two chapters, there are other objections, arising from its intrinsic character. It is a remarkable fact, that, while very few fables respecting the public ministry of Christ obtained currency among any sect in ancient times, their growth being checked by the rapid promulgation and decided authority of the four Gospels, the case was quite otherwise in regard to that portion of his history, on which the evangelists, with the sole exception, as I believe, of Luke, have not touched, his nativity and childhood; for concerning them fictions began early to be propagated; which, though obtaining very little credit among the great body of Christians, have come down to our time, in the different forms of what is called the Gospel of the Infancy and other apocryphal writings. To these fictions the narrative in the two chapters appears to belong from its intrinsic character. In the story of the Magi, we find represented a strange mixture of astrology and miracle. A divine interposition is pretended, which was addressed to the false opinions of certain Magi, respecting the significance of the stars; and for which no purpose worthy of the Deity can be assigned. They are represented as having been guided by a star, which at last stood over the place where the child was, though an object but a little elevated in the heavens changes its apparent position in reference to objects seen on the earth, according to the point of view of the spectator. Distrusting, however, the guidance of the star, which had led them as far as Jerusalem, and which finally, as we are told, guided them right, they are represented as inquiring in that city, where the object of their search was to be found; and in making this inquiry, we find them using language,—

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Where is the new-born king of the Jews, — that must have been altogether unintelligible to those not equally favored with themselves, by a divine communication respecting his birth. These inquiries, according to the account, excited great alarm in Herod, who was fast approaching the grave, worn out with insane passions, disease, and old age; and whose want of faith in the Jewish religion, and natural temperament, would have led him to regard with derision the Jewish expectations of a Messiah. He could not have apprehended, that the remainder of his life would be disturbed by the future claims to his throne of an infant just born in obscurity; and his solicitude about what might happen, years after his death, to those of his children whom he had not destroyed, was little likely to disturb him. Yet he is represented as having been so carried away by fear and passion, as to act not only with the greatest barbarity but the greatest folly, to have ordered an indiscriminate massacre, from which his intended victim actually escaped, when it is clear, that, if the preceding circumstances related by Luke, or even the author of the two chapters, be true, that victim might have been identified without any difficulty whatever.

But, if we reject the two chapters, a difficulty arises; as the original Hebrew Gospel could not have commenced with the first words of the third chapter; "But in those days." The difficulty, however, is removed by considering, that these words may have been added as a form of transition to a new subject, when the two chapters were blended with the Gospel, and that the Gospel may originally have begun with the words that follow; "John the baptist came preaching in the wilderness of Judea;" that is, in a manner corresponding to the commencement of Mark's Gospel. Or the first words may originally have been; "In the days of Her-

od," meaning Herod the tetrarch of Galilee, which supposition is countenanced by a story of Epiphanius, that the Gospel of the Ebionites began; "In the days of Herod, *king of Judea*;" the addition of which last words, *king of Judea*, seems to have been a blunder of his own.

But the commencement of the third chapter, "In those days," presents a more serious difficulty upon the supposition that what precedes was written by Matthew. The last events mentioned at the close of the second chapter are the accession of Archelaus as ruler of Judea, and Joseph's going to reside at Nazareth. But it was not in the time of those events, it was not "in those days," on the contrary, it was about thirty years afterward, that John the Baptist was preaching in the wilderness of Judea.

The reasons that have been given, may, I think, satisfy us that the two chapters in question did not proceed from the apostle Matthew. When we turn to the narrative of Luke, no important difficulties will, I think, present themselves to the mind of one, who has not determined to reject the belief of all miraculous interposition. The narrative is, as I have said, in a style rather poetical than historical. It was probably not committed to writing till after the death of Mary and of all the other individuals particularly concerned. With its real miracles, the fictions of oral tradition had probably become blended; and the individual by whom it was committed to writing probably added what he regarded as poetical embellishments. It is not necessary to believe, for example, that Mary and Zachariah actually expressed themselves in the rhythmical language of the hymns ascribed to them; or to receive as literal history the whole account respecting the birth of John the Baptist, or of the different appearances of an angel announcing himself as Gabriel. With our present means of judging, however, we

cannot draw a precise line between the truth, and what has been added to the truth. But in regard to the main event related, the miraculous conception of Jesus, it seems to me not difficult to discern in it purposes worthy of God. Nothing could have served more effectually to relieve him from that interposition and embarrassment in the performance of his high mission, to which he would have been exposed on the part of his parents, if born in the common course of nature. It took him from their control, and made them feel, that in regard to him they were not to interfere with the purposes of God. It gave him an abiding sense from his earliest years, that his destiny on earth was peculiar and marvellous; and must have operated most powerfully to produce that consciousness of his intimate and singular connexion with God, which was so necessary to the formation of the character he displayed, and to the right performance of the great trust committed to him. It corresponds with his office; presenting him to the mind of a believer, as an individual set apart from all other men, coming into the world with the stamp of God upon him, answerably to his purpose here, which was to speak to us with authority from God.

II.

MATTHEW, CHAPTER XXVII, VERSES 3-10.

In reference to the original text of our present Greek translation of Matthew, I know of nothing extant in any considerable number of copies, which can be considered as an interpolation of any importance. The most remarkable, perhaps, is the doxology at the end of our Lord's prayer, already noticed.* But, beside the two chapters that have

* See p. xliii.

been discussed, there are other passages, which are liable to the suspicion of having been interpolated in the copy, or in some of the copies, of the original Hebrew, used by the translator.

It is to be remarked, that for determining the text of Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, we have but a single authority, the Greek translation, the representative perhaps of but one manuscript, probably not of many. But where we have but a single manuscript for determining the text of an author, and our single authority, the Greek translation, amounts to but little more, its evidence is not of great weight against a strong presumption of the spuriousness of a passage.

In addition to this, we have seen that the copies of the original Hebrew of Matthew's Gospel were corrupted *subsequently* to the translation of that work; and hence a suspicion arises, that they may have been *before*; though the causes which afterwards produced such corruption could previously have been in action but for a short time, and various circumstances, such as the recent publication of the work, the absence of that disposition, which naturally existed in after-times, to preserve oral traditions by committing them to writing, and a greater reverence for the authority of an apostle felt by the Hebrew Christians before they became a disreputed, heretical sect, probably tended to check their operation. *

Of the passages referred to, the genuineness of which is suspicious, one is the account of the conduct and fate of Judas, on the morning after the apprehension of Jesus. I will give it with the context, Matthew xxvii, 1-11.

"But in the morning, early, all the chief priests and the elders of the people met in council to devise, how they might

* See p. 90, seqq.

procure the death of Jesus. And having bound him, they carried him before Pilate the governor, to deliver him up to him. [Then Judas who had put him into their power, seeing that he was condemned, repented, and carried back the thirty pieces of silver to the chief priests and elders, saying; I have sinned in betraying the blood of an innocent man. But they said to him; What is that to us? Do you look to it. And he threw down the money in the temple, and withdrew and went and hanged himself. But the chief priests, taking the money, said; It is not lawful to put it into the sacred treasury, since it is the price of blood. And after consulting together, they determined to purchase with it the Potter's Field as a burial-place for strangers. Hence that field has been called the Field of Blood to this day. Then was fulfilled what was said by Jeremiah the prophet; *And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him who was appraised, whom the children of Israel appraised, and they gave them for the Potter's Field, as the Lord had appointed for me.*] Then Jesus stood before the governor, and the governor questioned him, saying, Art thou the king of the Jews?"

At first view this account of Judas has the aspect of an interpolation. It is inserted so as to disjoin a narrative, the different parts of which, when it is removed, come together as if they had been originally united. Whether it be or be not an interpolation, it is clearly not in a proper place. The whole story apparently refers to a period subsequent to the point of time where it is introduced. Between the evening in which Jesus was apprehended and early in the morning, no circumstances could have occurred to produce a great change in such a mind as that of Judas, or in any other. When he betrayed his master, he knew that he was delivering him into the hands of his enemies, whose immediate

purpose it was to take his life. As the account is now placed, it is said, that in the morning Judas was affected with bitter remorse, because he saw that "Jesus was condemned." But no condemnation had yet been passed upon him by the Roman governor, and Judas could have had no new conviction that the Sanhedrim would use all their efforts to procure his death. Though it may be possible to put a different meaning upon the words, yet the account, according to its obvious sense, represents Judas as having had an interview with the chief priests and the elders (that is, with the Sanhedrim) *in the temple*, which is irreconcilable with the course of events as represented by Matthew in the context of the passage, as well as by the other evangelists. Matthew could not have described the Sanhedrim as holding a council in the house of Caiaphas and proceeding thence to the house of Pilate, and also as being in the temple, where Judas returned them their money, and they deliberated, what they should do with it.

The account of Judas we are considering, is irreconcilable with that given by Luke in the Acts of the Apostles, (i. 18, 19.) Luke says :

"This man purchased a field with the reward of his iniquity; and falling headlong, burst asunder, so that all his bowels gushed out; and this was known to all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, so that the field was called in their language, *Aceldama*, that is, *The Field of Blood*."

When Luke says, that "this was known to all the inhabitants of Jerusalem," we understand him as meaning that it was a common report in Jerusalem, and that he himself believed it. I will not remark upon the attempts which have been made to force his account into correspondence with that now found in Matthew's Gospel. To me it seems clear, that if Luke's be correct, that which we are examin-

ing must be erroneous in every particular. But there is no doubt that the passage quoted from the Acts is genuine, and Luke, in giving the common report, may be presumed to have stated what was believed by the apostles as well as others.

In the conclusion of the account found in Matthew's Gospel, there is an extraordinary misuse of a passage of Zechariah, which the writer professes to quote from Jeremiah. I put out of view the notion, that he may have found words answering to what he has given in an apocryphal book ascribed to Jeremiah, of which we nowhere find mention except in a single passage of Jerome, more than three centuries after the Gospel of Matthew was written. The mistake of the name of Jeremiah for Zechariah seems to show, that the writer quoted from memory, and may serve in part to explain the strange use which he makes of the words of the latter. The changes of sense, which could not have had this origin, may be accounted for by the allegorical and cabalistical modes of interpreting the Old Testament that existed among the Jews. The passage of Zechariah, (xi. 12, 13,) properly translated, is as follows:

"And I said to them; If ye think good, give me my wages; or if not, forbear. And they weighed for my wages thirty pieces of silver. And Jehovah said to me; Cast it into the treasury. Goodly the price at which I was valued by them! And I took the thirty pieces of silver, and cast them into the house of Jehovah into the treasury." *

* I give the translation of my friend, the Reverend Mr. Noyes; and subjoin his explanation of the passage. "The design of it," he says, "seems to be, to set forth the contempt in which the prophet Zechariah, and, consequently, in which Jehovah himself, whose minister the prophet was, was held by the house of Israel. The prophet had been directed, verse fourth, to feed the flock; but after he had fed them for some time, he was 'grieved at them,'

The word rendered "treasury" may mean "potter" and in the quotation is converted into "Potter's Field." But the inapplicability of the passage of Zechariah to the purpose for which it is used needs no illustration. Similar perversions of the Old Testament, by changing the words and sense of the original, may be found in the Rabbinical writings; but no other quotation of the same character is adduced by Matthew. If we believe the first two chapters to be the work of another hand, we may say that he has nothing resembling this quotation from Zechariah. On the contrary, the *applicability* of the words of the original to the subject about which he has used them is always elsewhere apparent. Such being the habit of his mind, it is not probable, that the quotation in question was made by him.

III.

MATTHEW, CHAPTER XXVII. PART OF VERSE 52 AND
VERSE 53.

ANOTHER passage which one may believe to have been interpolated in the copy, or in copies, of the original Hebrew used by the translator, is that answering to the words of the following quotation which are included in brackets.

"And lo! the veil of the temple was torn asunder from the top to the bottom; and the earth was shaken, and

and 'their souls loathed him.' He renounces his office, and represents himself as demanding wages for his service. Having received a pitiful allowance, Jehovah is represented as saying, 'Cast it into the treasury,' or 'Cast it to the potter,' adding ironically, 'Goodly the price at which I was valued by them;' Jehovah considers the wages of the prophet his own wages; or the contempt of his minister, the prophet, the same as the contempt of himself."

the rocks were rent, and the sepulchres laid open; [and many bodies of saints who slept were raised, and leaving their sepulchres, after his resurrection, entered the holy city and appeared to many."*]

Who, it may be asked, were these saints? Not disciples of Christ; for *many* of them had not died. Not unconverted Jews of that time; for to them such a title would not be applied. How long had they lain in their sepulchres? We cannot but suppose, that corruption had done its work on the larger portion; and is it to be thought that God would recreate, as it were, those mouldering bodies without some purpose far different from what can be discerned? What purpose indeed can be discerned? They appeared, it is said, to many; but we do not find that any converts were made in consequence, nor can we perceive that any good whatever followed, directly or indirectly, from their appearance. Supposing the story to be true, many to whom they did not appear would regard it as a fable; and its circulation would only tend to throw discredit upon the testimony to the resurrection of Christ himself. Were those saints in fact recalled to life, and did they die again, and their bodies resume their places, when their supposed mission to the living was accomplished? Is it possible, if such an astonishing miracle had been performed, a miracle more adapted to excite consternation than any in the whole history of the evangelists, that one really acquainted with such a fact should have known nothing of the consequences that must have resulted from it, or that, knowing those consequences, he should not have thought it worth while to record them? Is it likely that so strange a marvel, about which all

* Matthew xxvii. 51-53.

Jerusalem must have been full of excitement, should have been mentioned but by one evangelist, and that so slightly? Is it credible, that, when, as far as we know, but three individuals were restored to life by Jesus himself, and this, in solemn attestation of his divine mission, many bodies of saints should have been raised under such circumstances, as that the fact should contribute little or nothing to establish the truth of our religion?

After Christ's resurrection, it is said, they left their sepulchres and went into the holy city. In this extraordinary statement we may recognise, I think, the fabrication of some relater of the story. He apprehended, that if the saints were represented as rising and appearing on the day when Christ was crucified, it might seem to deprive him of the title of *First-born from the dead*; and therefore had recourse to the not very successful expedient of postponing their appearance till after his resurrection.

If these views are correct, the story must be regarded as a fable; probably one, which, in common perhaps with others now utterly forgotten, was in circulation among the Hebrew converts after the destruction of Jerusalem. Some possessor of a manuscript of Matthew's Hebrew Gospel may be supposed to have noted it in the margin of his copy, whence it found its way into the text of others, one or more of which fell into the hands of the Greek translator.

THE objections that have been brought against the genuineness of the passages examined may be new to many readers; and a suspicion may arise in their minds,

that if other passages in Matthew's Gospel were subjected to a like scrutiny, as great difficulties would be found, and their genuineness appear equally questionable. But after many years' acquaintance with this Gospel, as an object of study, I have not come to such a result. I have discerned what seem to me similar marks of interpolation in no other portion of it; and I am persuaded, that, as regards the general character of the Gospel, we shall be better satisfied of its genuineness and authenticity, in proportion to the thoroughness of the examination to which we subject it.

IV.

THE CONCLUSION OF MARK'S GOSPEL.

(CHAPTER XVI. VERSES 9-20.)

WE pass to the Gospel of Mark. In this there is but one passage that demands consideration. It consists of the last twelve verses of his Gospel, from the ninth verse of the sixteenth chapter inclusive to the end.

It is remarkable, that, while Griesbach does not in his New Testament affix to them any mark of doubt, he argues at length against their genuineness in his *Commentarius Criticus*. The state of external testimony respecting them is as follows.

They are not found in the Vatican manuscript. In the Codex Stephani η , after the eighth verse, it is said, *The following also is extant*, which words precede a short conclusion (to be noticed hereafter *) undoubtedly

* See Additional Note, C.

spurious, and then come the words, *This also is extant*; after which follow the twelve verses in question. In more than forty other manuscripts, they are accompanied by various remarks, to the effect "that they were wanting in some, but found in the ancient copies;" "that they were in many copies," "that they had been considered spurious and were wanting in most copies," "that they were not in the more accurate copies," and, on the other hand, "that they were generally in accurate copies."

In the other manuscripts of the Gospels beside those mentioned, the passage in question is found without remark; and likewise in all the ancient versions, with the exception of the Armenian, in the manuscripts of which, as appears, it is either omitted or marked as of doubtful credit, and likewise of the copy of an Arabic version preserved in the Vatican library.

The nineteenth verse is distinctly quoted by Irenæus as from the Gospel of Mark;* and the passage in question appears to have been recognised as genuine by some other Fathers.† But no part of it is quoted by Origen. According to Eusebius, almost all the copies of Mark's Gospel, including the most accurate, ended with what is now the eighth verse.‡ Gregory of Nyssa states, that the passage was not found in the more accu-

* Cont. Hæres. Lib. III. c. 10. § 6.

† Not, however, by Clement of Rome, nor Justin, who are cited as quoting it in the editions of the N. T. by Griesbach and Scholz, nor, I think, by Clement of Alexandria, who is also adduced.

‡ *Quæstiones ad Marimum*, pp. 61, 62.

rate copies; * and Jerome says, that it was but in few, being wanting in almost all the *Greek* manuscripts. † I pass over other authorities against it of less importance.

This state of the external evidence is such as to render the genuineness of the passage suspicious; especially when we consider that it was the natural tendency of transcribers rather to preserve, than to reject, what they found in an exemplar before them. They had the feeling, that it rendered their copy more complete. To reject was to assume responsibility; to retain was yielding to authority; and, in addition, there has always been a strong, however irrational sentiment, that, when there is a doubt whether a passage may not be a portion of Sacred Writ, it is profane to reject it; a sentiment of which we have had full proof in our day; the manifest corruptions found in the Received Text of the New Testament being, some of them, still inserted in editions of the original, and all of them retained in the Common English Version, as published by authority. The dread of taking from Scripture any thing which

* Orat. II. in Christi Resurrect. Opp. III. 411.

† Ad Hedibiam, de Quæstionibus. Opp. IV. P. I. col. 172. — Scholz, in the note on the verses in his edition of the N. T., says that Jerome makes an assertion contrary to that quoted above, in his work, Against the Pelagians, (Lib. II. Opp. IV. P. II. col. 520.) But this is an error. What Jerome there says, is, that "in some copies, and particularly in (some) Greek copies," at the end of Mark's Gospel, a passage was found (not now extant in any copy of the Gospel, and obviously spurious), which he quotes; and which has nothing to do with the twelve verses in question, except that it is highly probable, that in the manuscripts, in which that passage was found, the twelve verses were wanting.

might be a part of it seems, generally, to have been stronger than the apprehension, at least equally reasonable, of adding to Scripture something not belonging to it. Thus Eusebius, after mentioning that some rejected the passage under consideration, as wanting in most copies and among them the most accurate, adds, that "others not daring to reject any thing whatever that is extant, through any circumstance, in the manuscripts of the Gospels, say that there is here a double reading, as in many other places, and that both are to be received, because the faithful and pious will not undertake to decide in favor of one rather than the other." *

But it may be said, that in a particular case the feeling of which I speak might be overcome by something in the passage itself, regarded by the transcriber as objectionable. Such, it has been contended, was the fact in respect to the verses under consideration. Transcribers, it has been said, found it difficult to reconcile the ninth verse with the first verse of the twenty-eighth chapter of Matthew; and therefore omitted that verse and all the following. But the apparent discrepancy, which is supposed to have led to this most unjustifiable procedure, is very trifling, and of no consideration whatever, compared with others which all transcribers have left in the Gospels. It is as follows: In Mark, xvi. 9, it is said, according to one mode of pointing the passage, that Jesus "rose early *the first day of the week.*" In Matthew xxviii. 1, that Mary Magdalene and the other Mary went to visit the sepulchre *ὁψὲ δὲ σαββάτων*, which appears to have been understood by some as meaning

* *Questiones ad Marinum*, p. 62.

on the evening of the Sabbath, when the sepulchre was found empty, our Lord having already risen. Thus two different days, it was said, appeared to be assigned as the time of his resurrection. But the difficulty was removed by the ancient commentators who have noticed it, by a different pointing of the passage in Mark, so as to read; "Now he, -having risen, appeared early the first day of the week to Mary Magdalene;" thus leaving the time of his resurrection undefined; and the obvious remark was likewise made, that Matthew could not by the words he uses, have intended to express the *evening* following the Sabbath day; because he immediately adds, *when the first day of the week was about to dawn*.* He is to be understood as meaning "late in the night after the Sabbath," or simply "after the Sabbath." It is, then, idle to suppose that the passage in question would have been expunged on account of such a difficulty.† There is, indeed, no ground for believing that transcribers are to be charged with omitting passages in one evangelist, because they found, or fancied them irreconcilable with those in another. The various apparent discrepancies between the Gospels, in passages which bear not the least marks of having been tampered with, are abundant proof that such was not their custom.

* Eusebii *Questiones ad Marinum*, pp. 61 - 67. Simon, *Hist. Crit. des Commentateurs du N. T.* pp. 88 - 90.

† Modern commentators have spoken in the plural of the *discrepancies* in this passage from the other evangelists, as having led to its rejection. But I am not aware of any other statement peculiar to it, which has been noticed by ancient writers as presenting an apparent discrepancy.

But, in fact, transcribers must have been extremely reluctant to reject this passage; for, if struck off, it leaves the Gospel of Mark, in its conclusion, strangely incomplete and unsatisfactory. This, which every one feels, must have been felt by them. It is, I conceive, the main argument for the genuineness of the passage, and one which at first view may seem almost conclusive.

Before, however, considering this argument, we will attend to the internal character of the passage, to ascertain what proof this may afford respecting the point at issue.

There is, then, a difference so great between the use of language in this passage, and its use in the undisputed portion of Mark's Gospel, as to furnish strong reason for believing the passage not genuine. I give the examples in a note below.*

* There are various words and modes of expression, peculiar to this passage, not connected with the expression of any thing peculiar to its subject; but on the contrary of such a character, that, if they had been familiar to Mark, they would probably have occurred elsewhere in his writings. Such are the following.

v. 9. *πρότερον σκεδάσαι*, instead of *μία σκεδάσαι*, the expression used by Mark a little before, and by all the other evangelists in speaking of the day.

v. 10. *ἰστέον* and v. 11. *ἀφ' αὐτοῦ*. This use of *ἰστέον* not demonstratively, nor emphatically, occurs nowhere else in Mark's Gospel.

v. 19. *ὁ κύριος*, and v. 20. *τοῦ κυρίου*. Mark in his own person nowhere else applies this title to Christ.

Passing over the words peculiar to this passage, the use of which may be accounted for from something peculiar in its subject, the following nowhere else occur in the Gospel of Mark: 1. *περιδεῖν*, the participles of which are used three times; 2. *θεῶμαι*, used as a verb, and likewise as its participle; 3. *δυνατός*, verb and participle; 4. *μετὰ ταῦτα*; 5. *ἴτε*; 6. *παρεκκλυσθῆναι*; 7. *ἐλάττω*; 8. *μὴ οὖν*; 9. *πανταχοῦ*; 10. *συμεγίγιναι*; 11. *ἐκβαλεῖν*; 12. *ἰπακκοῦσθαι*.

To proceed to other considerations. In the ninth verse, (the first of the disputed passage,) Mary Magdalene is described as if unknown to the reader ; " Mary Magdalene, from whom he cast out seven demons." Now, as she had been mentioned by Mark several times within a few preceding pages, it is not likely that this mode of designating her, to be expected only concerning an individual first introduced to notice, should have been used by him. It seems to have been the work of the author of the addition, writing with too little reference to what preceded in the Gospel.

The words ascribed to our Saviour in these verses are of so different a character from any elsewhere recorded of him, either by Mark or any other of the evangelists, that it is difficult to believe them to have been uttered by him. " And he said to his disciples ; Go to all the world, and preach the Gospel to the whole creation. He who believes and is baptized, shall be safe ; he who disbelieves, shall be condemned. And these signs shall accompany those who believe ; in my name they shall cast out demons ; they shall speak new languages ; they shall take up serpents ; if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them ; they shall lay their hands upon the diseased, and they shall be well." In these words, represented as the last that Jesus addressed to his apostles, there appears a want of that moral dignity, which is characteristic of his discourses, and which we should above all expect upon this occasion. The particular enumeration of miracles to be performed is not in his manner. He would not, in giving his last solemn charge to his apostles, have turned away their thoughts from a consideration of their high duties, to an anticipation of the various miraculous powers which they, and other believers,

were to possess. Some of the miracles enumerated are of a kind very different from those which he and his apostles were accustomed to perform. They do not, like their works of mercy, bear in their very character the stamp of a divine mission. They were liable to be confounded with the tricks of pretended magicians. Some of the powers promised could be of no use to others, and of none to the possessor, except in case of a rare accident. But, above all, if, as I think is certain, miraculous powers were not granted to believers generally, then this promise that they would be so granted, — “These signs shall accompany those who believe,” — could not have been uttered by Christ; and, we may conclude with almost equal confidence, could not have been ascribed to him by the evangelist.

There is, throughout these verses, a conciseness and brevity of statement, very different from the common manner of Mark, who usually details facts in more words and with more circumstances, than any other of the evangelists. It is the manner of one, adding only what he thought necessary to form some proper conclusion to the Gospel.

BUT, on the other hand, to recur to the argument before mentioned, it may be said, that it is incredible that Mark should have left his Gospel with so abrupt and unsatisfactory an ending as it must have had, if he had broken off with the eighth verse of the last chapter; and that this consideration alone is sufficient to do away the whole force of the preceding remarks. I allow that it is incredible, that Mark should thus have ended his Gospel designedly and by choice; but it is not incredible that he should have been interrupted in his labors by accident. What that accident was must be a matter of conjecture.

But there is nothing incredible or improbable in supposing, that *some* accident might have occurred to prevent him from finishing his Gospel as he intended; and there are historical circumstances which strongly favor the supposition.

According to ancient accounts, of which I perceive no good reason for doubting the essential correctness, the apostle Peter went to Rome, with Mark for his companion, about the year 63. He there preached the gospel, while Mark, as is related, composed, at the request of his hearers, a written gospel, of which his preaching was the basis. But the terrible persecution of the Christians under Nero broke out, and, in the year 64 or 65, Peter was crucified. Here all authentic accounts of Mark end; for the story of his going from Rome and preaching at Alexandria can be traced no higher than to a hearsay of Eusebius; and is connected with relations of a nature wholly to destroy its credit. In that persecution, Mark may have perished also; or, if he did not, the anguish of mind which he must have suffered, or imprisonment, or a rapid flight from the city, or some other cause, connected with that period of frightful distress and anxiety, may have prevented him from completing his work. Copies of it, however, being taken in its imperfect state, we may suppose, that at an early period, some individual, possessing one of these, who was procuring new transcripts to be made, added with purely honest intentions, though not perhaps with the best judgment, the brief conclusion which we now find, in order to complete the work. As the history is in fact unfinished without it, it soon came to be considered by very many as a part of the original Gospel, or as a proper addition to it, and it has thus, we may suppose, found its way into a great majority of our present copies.

V.

LUKE, CHAPTER XXII. VERSES 43, 44.

In the Gospel of Luke there is but one passage of any importance, the genuineness of which there seems to me good reason for doubting. It consists of the forty-third and forty-fourth verses of the twenty-second chapter.

“And there appeared to him an angel from heaven, strengthening him. And, being in an agony, he prayed the more earnestly; and his sweat was as great drops of blood falling to the ground.”

Not to mention some other authorities of little consequence, these verses are wanting in the Alexandrine and Vatican manuscripts. They are likewise not in the Sahidic version. In ten manuscripts, three of them in uncial letters, they are marked as doubtful.

They are not quoted by Origen, nor Tertullian. The fact is remarkable, especially as regards the latter writer; in whose earnest arguments against those heretics who denied that Christ had a body of flesh and blood, no passage in the Gospels would have seemed more to his purpose.

In the fourth century, Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, says; “We ought not to be ignorant, that in very many Greek and Latin manuscripts (*in Græcis et in Latinis codicibus complurimis*) nothing is to be found concerning the coming of the angel, or the bloody sweat.” *

Jerome, in writing against the Pelagians, reproaches them with believing, that men can will what is good without the grace of God, when even the Saviour was strengthened by an angel. “In *some* copies,” he says, both Greek

* De Trinitate, Lib. X. § 41. Opp. col. 1062.

and Latin (*in quibusdam exemplaribus tum Græcis quam Latinis*), we find that "there appeared to him an angel from heaven strengthening him," &c. — to the end of the passage.* Jerome was not of a temper to understate facts from which he was reasoning; and, when he says that it was found in *some* copies, we may conclude that it was, as Hilary says, wanting in very many.

Epiphanius likewise reasons from the passage, his purpose being to prove the double nature of Christ. But he says of it: "It is found in Luke's Gospel in those copies which have not been subjected to a revision,† and the holy Irenæus, in his work against Heresies, uses it as an argument to confute those who denied the real body of Christ; ‡ but some orthodox persons struck it out through fear, not understanding its bearing and its great force." §

It is evident, that Epiphanius did not think it safe to assert, that it was found in many copies of his time. It was found, he says, in those which had not been *revised*, that is inspected, after the transcriber had done his work, by some person responsible for the correctness of the text, a care which was undoubtedly taken of all copies pretending to accuracy. It was found in so few, that, in order to prove its genuineness, he appeals to its being quoted by Irenæus; and does not venture to assert, as he undoubtedly would have done, if he had dared, that it had been expunged by the heretics; he lays the charge upon "some orthodox persons," a charge in itself very improbable.

After the prevalence, in the fifth century, of the *Mono-*

* *Adversus Pelagianos*, Lib. II. Opp. IV. P. II. col. 521.

† *ἰς τοῖς ἀδιωκτοῦς ἀντιγράφοις.*

‡ It is referred to by Irenæus, Lib. III. c. 22. § 2.

§ *Ancorat.* § xxxi. Opp. II. 36.

physite heresy, the heresy which ascribed but a single nature to Christ, and that the divine, the passage became a favorite text with the orthodox, as proving his double nature. It had, much earlier, been used by Irenæus against those who denied the real body of Christ. Thus recommended to the favor of the early Christians, and of the orthodox of later times, it readily made its way into a great majority of our extant authorities; assisted, doubtless, by the operation of the principle before mentioned, which led those, who had the care of the transcription of manuscripts, rather to admit what was of doubtful credit, than to reject what might be a part of Scripture. We have proof from writers of the ninth and tenth centuries of its use in the Monophysite controversy, and at the same time of its continued absence from many copies, for they charge its omission upon the Monophysite Christians of Syria and Armenia.*

The objections which present themselves to the passage, considered in its intrinsic character, are the following. The agony of Christ is represented as existing after the angel had been sent to strengthen him. The bloody sweat described is such as we have no authority for believing was ever produced by mere distress of mind, if it have been by any other cause. The account appears at variance with the character of Christ, and especially with that calmness, self-possession, and firmness, which he manifested during the evening and night previous to his apprehension, before and after separating from his disciples on Mount Olivet; and with which his expressions of great suffering, recorded by the other evangelists, present nothing inconsistent. It does not appear

* Vid. Wetsten. Nov. Test. in loc.

how any one could have witnessed, or become acquainted with, the events related; for Jesus had removed to a distance from his disciples, and, when he returned, found them asleep. There is nothing improbable in the supposition, that, even amid the horror of those moments, he told them, for their benefit, in a few brief words, what had been the purport of his prayer; and he might, indeed, have also communicated the facts in question, supposing them to have occurred. But had they really been made known by him, under such circumstances, they were adapted to produce so deep and lasting an impression upon the feelings, that an apostle, as Matthew, could hardly have forborne to relate them. We should have expected to find them mentioned not by one evangelist only, but by all.

It may be observed further, that, if this passage be struck out, the parts of the text which it separates, come together without any appearance of a chasm, as if the passage had been interposed between them.

We may suppose, then, that it was a passage first written in the margin of some very early manuscript, and subsequently, through the mistake of transcribers, taken into the text of other copies. The narrative perhaps owes its present form to a misunderstanding of language. It having been said that Jesus, in his agony, received strength from on high, and angels being regarded by the Jews as the ministers of God, it was inferred, we may suppose, that he was strengthened by the mission of an angel. There is likewise ground for believing, that "to weep blood" was anciently an expression for weeping bitterly, and that "to sweat blood" was used to denote a violent struggle; and the account before us may have arisen from taking such figurative language in too literal a sense.

If the passage were, as I think, originally a marginal addition, it must have been made at an early age, and have soon been taken into the text of some manuscripts; for it is quoted by Justin Martyr in the following words, which are remarkable from apparently involving a reference to Luke, as one of the companions of the apostles: "In those memoirs which I affirm to have been composed by apostles of Christ and their companions, it is said that *sweat like drops of blood flowed from him while praying.*"* A little later, as we have seen, it was quoted by Irenæus. Not long after it is said to have been quoted by Hippolytus in proof of the human as well as divine nature of Christ.† But I find no reference to its appearing in the writings of any other of the Fathers, before the notice of it already quoted from Hilary, about the middle of the fourth century.

VI.

JOHN, CHAPTER V. VERSES 3, 4.

WE proceed to the Gospel of John. The first passage to be noticed is the account of the descent of an angel into the Sheep-pool at Jerusalem. I will give the words which are probably spurious in their connexion, putting them within brackets.

JOHN v. 1-8. "After this there was a festival of the Jews; and Jesus went up to Jerusalem. Now there is at Jerusalem, by the Sheep-gate, a pool called in Hebrew Bethesda, having five porches. In these lay a number of

* Dial. cum Tryph. p. 361.

† See Lardner's article on Hippolytus.

diseased persons, blind, lame, withered, [waiting for the moving of the water. For an angel, at certain times, descended into the pool and troubled the water; then, whoever first entered it, after the troubling of the water, was cured of whatever disease afflicted him.] And there was a man there who had been diseased for thirty-eight years. This man Jesus saw lying, and knowing that his disease had now continued for a long time, said to him; Wilt thou be made well? The sick man answered him; Master, I have no one to put me into the pool when the water is troubled. But whilst I am going, some other descends before me. Jesus says to him; Rise, take up thy bed and walk."

The whole of the doubtful passage is omitted in the Vatican manuscript, in the Ephrem, as first written, in two others of less note, in manuscripts of the Coptic version, and in some one or more of the Sahidic; and Nonnus, who, about the fifth century, wrote a metrical paraphrase of the Gospel of John, says nothing of the descent of an angel, but speaks of the water as *rushing forth in spontaneous jets*.*

The fourth verse, beginning *For an angel, &c.*, is omitted in the Cambridge manuscript and one other; and is marked as doubtful in more than fifteen others. It is wanting in the manuscripts of the Armenian version generally, and in several of the old Latin versions.

On the other hand, this verse being retained, the last clause of the third, *waiting for the moving of the waters*, is wanting in the Alexandrine manuscript, as first written, the Codex Stephani η, and one other.

* διὰ
"Ἀλμασι ἀντομέουσιν ἰδὼν ἱερούμενον ἕλας.

I find no historical remarks respecting the omission or insertion of the story of the descent of an angel. Unless it be referred to by Tertullian,* it is not noticed in the extant works of any Christian writer before Ambrose and Chrysostom in the fourth century.

The pool spoken of in the passage appears to have been fed by an intermitting medicinal spring. The story of the descent of the angel was founded on the superstition of the Jews, who, in common with the Heathens, were accustomed to ascribe any remarkable natural phenomenon to supernatural agency. What the former accounted for by the descent of an angel, the latter might have explained by some mythological fable. The circumstances of the case altogether preclude the supposition, that, in giving this solution, there was any pretence that the descent of the angel was visible.

In the simple narrative, which alone, I conceive, is to be ascribed to St. John, something, as is not uncommon with the evangelists, is left unexplained, namely, what is meant by the moving of the waters, and why it was supposed that then only they had a sanative power. This, I presume, led some early possessor or transcriber of a manuscript of his Gospel to write the popular account in its margin, whence it was assumed into the text of others. But for its omission, or the marks of doubt with which it is inserted, no satisfactory account can be given, supposing it to have been originally written by St. John. †

* There may be a doubt whether Tertullian (*De Baptismo*, c. 5.) alludes to the passage as it stands in John's Gospel, or to the story as known from some other source.

† In the passage the following words occur, not elsewhere used by John; — *ἰδιχημα*, *δαρσις*, *κατίχηα*, and *νίσημα*; beside *νίσηα* and

We have reason to believe that St. John did not adopt the error of his countrymen respecting the agency of an angel in the case in question, because he appears to have been free from another much more general. He ascribes no diseases to demoniacal possession.

VII.

JOHN, VII. 53. — VIII. 11.

THE narrative of the woman taken in adultery is omitted in so many copies, and marked as doubtful or spurious in so many others, that, reasoning on the principles that have been laid down, we may conclude with confidence, that it was not written by St. John. But I perceive no ground for questioning the truth of the account; it is related in a striking and natural manner, and bears an intrinsic character of probability.

There are, in different copies of this narrative, great variations of language, expressive of the same essential meaning. This may be accounted for in several ways. We may suppose that the story was first written in some other language than the Greek, and translated into this by two different hands; or, that being first written in Greek, and then translated into Latin, it is found in some copies, as the Cambridge manuscript, for example, re-translated from the Latin into the Greek; or, what is, perhaps, as probable a solution as any, that it was written down in

καὶ αὐτὴν, the use of which in this passage alone may be accounted for by the nature of its subject.

Greek by two different individuals, from the oral narration of St. John, and afterward appended to his Gospel, in which it had not been inserted by himself. The passage may be thus rendered according to what are, perhaps, the most probable readings.

“And every one went to his house; and Jesus went to the Mount of Olives. But in the morning he was again in the temple, and all the people came to him; and having sat down, he was instructing them, when the Teachers of the Law and the Pharisees brought a woman taken in adultery, and placing her in the midst, said to him; Teacher, this woman was taken in the very act of adultery; and in the Law, Moses commands us that such should be stoned to death; what now dost thou say? This they asked with a design to ensnare him, that they might have an accusation against him. Then Jesus, bending down, wrote with his finger upon the ground. But, as they persisted in questioning him, he raised his head and said to them; Let him among you who is without sin, cast the first stone at her. And bending down again, he wrote upon the ground. And hearing this, they went out one by one, beginning with the oldest, and Jesus was left alone with the woman standing in the midst. Then Jesus, raising his head, said to her; Woman, where are they? Did no one sentence thee? She said, No one, Master. Then Jesus said to her; Neither do I sentence thee; go and sin no more.”

VIII.

JOHN, CHAPTER XXI. VERSES 24, 25.

It may seem that the words with which John's Gospel now concludes could hardly have been written by the apostle. He, I conceive, ended his Gospel, thus :

"This is the disciple who testifies concerning these things, and has written them."

The addition follows :

["And we know that his testimony is true. And there are many other things that Jesus did, which, if they were severally written, I do not think that the world itself would contain the books written."]

It is hardly to be supposed, that the apostle would say of himself; "*We* know that *his* testimony is true," subjoining immediately after, "*I* do not think." This is not the style of any writer speaking of himself. The extravagant hyperbole in the second sentence is equally foreign from the style of St. John. The passage appears to be an editorial note, which, written, probably, at first a little separate from the text, became incorporated with it at a very early period.

According to ancient accounts, St. John wrote his Gospel at Ephesus, over the church in which city he presided during the latter part of his long life. It is not improbable that, before his death, its circulation had been confined to the members of that church. Thence copies of it would be afterwards obtained; and the copy provided for transcription was, we may suppose, accompanied by the strong attestation which we now find, given by the church, or the elders of the church, to their full faith in the account which it contained; and by the concluding remark made by the writer of this attestation in his own person.

There is no external authority, properly speaking, for rejecting this passage. In one manuscript, the last verse is omitted; and in several others, it is said to have been thought by some to be an addition. The character of the language, however, is different from that of John.*

I HAVE thus gone through with all the passages of length or importance, in the Received Text of the Gospels, the genuineness of which appears to me improbable. It is obvious, that, should we regard them all as interpolations, the Gospels would lose nothing of their value. On the contrary, with the exception, perhaps, of the story of the adulteress, they all present some peculiar difficulty, some intrinsic improbability, some inconsistency with what is elsewhere related, or something at variance with the general character of the writing in which they are found, or with the opinion we entertain of its author. But such dissimi-

* The use of *ἅ* (*whatever*), as equivalent simply to the relative *ἃ* (*which, that*), is not common, and does not occur elsewhere in John. It was accordingly changed to *ἃ* by Origen, Chrysostom, and Cyril; and *ἃ* is substituted for it in the Vatican and other manuscripts. It is such a use of *ἅ*, as a native Greek might fall into from meeting with its frequent occurrence in the New Testament, without appreciating its exact force. *Καὶ ἅ* is nowhere else found in the writings of the apostle. It is here used illogically, its proper meaning being *one by one, severally*; whereas the meaning intended is *all*. This being the case, the proper word, *καὶ πάντα*, would at once have been adopted by so simple a writer as John. *Οἷμα* occurs nowhere else in the New Testament or Septuagint. It is, apparently, not a word which belonged to the common vocabulary of those Jews who used the Greek language.

larity of one part with another would not have been confined to a few spurious or suspicious passages, it would have pervaded the whole of the Gospels, had they been, as is supposed in the theory examined in the First Part of this work, an aggregation of stories collected by different hands.

NOTE B.

(See p. 69.)

VARIOUS READINGS OF COPIES OF THE GOSPELS EXTANT
IN THE TIME OF ORIGEN, WHICH ARE PARTICULARLY
NOTICED BY HIM.

THE following is a collection of all the instances, so far as I have been able to ascertain them, in which Origen, in his extant works, has remarked upon different readings in the copies of the Gospels that he consulted.* If it be not complete, which I have endeavoured to make it, it at least gives a fair view of the state of the case.

I. Matth. viii. 28. Instead of *Γερασσηῶν*, which seems to have been the more common reading in his time, Origen says that a few manuscripts read *Γαδαρηῶν*, and he himself prefers *Γεργεσαίων* or *Γεργεσηῶν* (it is uncertain which), without expressly saying that he had found it in any copy. Opp. IV. 140, 179. Much diversity of reading exists in our present copies.

II. Matth. xvi. 20. Origen observes, that Mark and Luke, in giving the same account with Matthew, use the words *ἐπιτίμησεν* and *ἐπιτιμήσας*, but that Matthew, according to some copies, wrote *διεστειλάτο*. In other copies, he observes, that the word *ἐπιτίμησεν* is found. Opp. III. 532. The same diversity exists in our present MSS.

* I have used, as my principal guides, the synopsis of Origen's readings, at the end of the second volume of Griesbach's "Symbolæ Criticæ," and Wetstein's New Testament.

III. Matth. xviii. 1. Some copies, he says, have ὄρα, and some ἡμίρα. Opp. III. 588. The same diversity still exists.

IV. Matth. xxi. 5. Instead of πῶλον υἱὸν ὑποζυγίου, he appears to have found, in some copies, πῶλον ὑποζυγίου. Opp. III. 738.* This reading is extant in two MSS.

V. Matth. xxi. 9, 15. In one or the other verse, it appears, that Origen, in the copy or copies before him, found οἶκω instead of νιῶ. He himself quotes both verses with the reading νιῶ. Opp. II. 583. No other trace of the reading οἶκω now remains.

VI. Matth. xxvii. 17. It appears that Ἰησοῦς was given as another name of Barabbas, in some ancient copies, — Ἰησοῦν Βαραββᾶν. Origen, according to his Latin translator, says; "In many copies the name of Jesus is not found as that of Barabbas; and, perhaps, this is right; so that the name of Jesus may not be given to any wicked person." Opp. III. 918. vid. et. p. 853. The name Ἰησοῦν, before Βαραββᾶν, both in the 16th and 17th verses, is now found in four MSS. and two versions, and mentioned in the scholia of about twenty MSS. as a reading of ancient copies.

VII. Mark. Origen says; "Let it be supposed that Ἀββῆς, the publican, was a follower of Christ; yet he was not of the number of the apostles, except according to some copies of Mark's Gospel." Opp. I. 376. It is uncertain to what place in Mark's Gospel these words refer; possibly, as Griesbach and others suppose, to ch. ii. v. 14; more probably, I think, to ch. iii. v. 18. This passage of Origen, which presents various difficulties, is not illustrated by the

* On this passage of Origen, where the text is manifestly corrupt, see Griesbach's "Dissertatio de Codicibus Quat. Evang. Origenianis," § xv.

context, nor, I believe, by any other part of his writings. In Griesbach's note on Mark ii. 14, he quotes as authority for the reading Ἰάκωβον instead of Λευὴν, *codices nonnulli apud Origenem*; but that Origen had seen any manuscripts having that reading is a mere conjecture, strangely inferred from the passage just quoted. See Griesbach's "Dissertatio de Codd. Origenianis," § xix.

VIII. Luke i. 46. Origen says, according to his Latin translator, that the words of this and the following verses were ascribed in some copies to Elizabeth; whether by reading εἶπε τῇ Μαριὰμ, as Wetstein supposes, or by substituting the name Ἐλισάβετ for Μαριὰμ, as Griesbach thinks, is uncertain. Opp. III. 940. The reading "Elizabeth" is found in three Latin MSS.; yet the supposition of Wetstein may appear most probable.

IX. Luke ix. 48. Origen repeatedly quotes the last words thus; οὗτος ἔστι μέγας; but observes in one place, that ζῶται was the reading of some copies. Opp. III. p. 597. Our present authorities are divided.

X. Luke xiv. 18, 19. Origen says, that, instead of the words ἐρωτῶ σε, there was found in some copies καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐ δύναμαι ἐλθεῖν. Opp. III. 981. In the 19th verse, for ἐρωτῶ σε, ἔχε με παρητημένον, which, perhaps, Origen intended, the Cambridge MS. reads διὸ οὐ δύναμαι ἐλθεῖν; and so likewise some of the old Latin versions.

XI. Luke xxiii. 45. Origen, according to his Latin translator, states, that, in most copies, were found the words ἐσχοτίσθη ὁ ἥλιος, but in some τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλείποντος. The latter words, if we may trust his translator, he thought, while writing the passage before us, to be an intentional corruption of some ill-disposed persons. They are, however, elsewhere regarded by him, as those of Luke. Opp.

III. 923. comp. II. 414, 415. vid. et III. 56. Our present authorities are divided.

XII. John i. 3, 4. "Some copies," says Origen, "read, and perhaps correctly, ὁ γίγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἐστίν." Opp. VI. 72. This reading is supported by other extant authorities.

XIII. John i. 28. "I am not ignorant," says Origen, "that in almost all the copies, we find the name *Βηθανία*, and this seems to have been the case formerly. But I am persuaded, that we ought to read, not *Βηθανία*, but *Βηθαβαρᾶ*." Opp. IV. 140. The latter is the reading of the Received Text, which Griesbach has removed, and substituted the former.

SUCH are the various readings particularly remarked upon by Origen; and the conclusion appears irresistible, that the manuscripts of the Gospels, extant in his day, did not, to say the least, differ more from each other, than those which we now possess.

NOTE C.

(See p. 79.)

UNDISPUTED INTERPOLATIONS IN MANUSCRIPTS OF THE GOSPELS.

WITH the exceptions mentioned in the body of the work, the following are the only undisputed interpolations of any considerable length, which have been found in any manuscript of the Greek text of the Gospels.

I. After Matthew xx. 28, the following passage is found in the Cambridge manuscript.

Ἔμεῖς δὲ ζητεῖτε ἐκ μικροῦ αὐξῆσαι, καὶ ἐκ μεγάλου ἑλαττον εἶναι. Εἰσερχόμενοι δὲ καὶ παρακληθέντες δειπνῆσαι, μὴ ἀνακλινοῦσθαι εἰς τοὺς ἐξέχοντας τόπους, μήποτε ἐνδοξότερός σου ἐπίλθῃ, καὶ προσελθὼν ὁ δειπνοκλήτωρ εἴπῃ σοι, Ἔτι κάτω χώρει, καὶ κατασχυρθήσῃ. Ἐὰν δὲ ἀναπέσῃς εἰς τὸν ἡττονα τόπον, καὶ ἐπίλθῃ σου ἡτιων, ἐρεῖ σοι ὁ δειπνοκλήτωρ, Σύναγε ἔτι ἄνω, καὶ ἔσται σοι τοῦτο χρήσιμον.

“ But do you strive to increase from what is little, and to become less from what is greater. And when you enter, having been invited to a supper, do not lie down in the places of distinction, lest a more honorable person than thou come in, and the master of the feast come and say to thee, Go down lower, and thou shalt be put to shame. But shouldst thou lie down in an inferior place, and one inferior to thee come in, the master of the feast will say to thee, Go up yet higher, and this will be profitable to thee.”

It is remarkable, considering that this passage is derived from one actually found in Luke,* how many discrepancies exist, within so short a compass, between its language and that of the Greek Gospel of Matthew, of the other Gospels, and of the New Testament generally. This difference extends through the whole passage. There is nothing in the evangelists resembling the obscure antithesis so singularly expressed, with which it commences; nor is the awkward and illogical arrangement of the words *εἰσερχόμενοι δὲ καὶ παρακληθέντες δειπνῆσαι* consistent with their general style. Matthew's translator does not use the infinitive for the imperative, as is here done in the word *ἀνακλίνεσθαι*.

The following words and expressions occur nowhere in the New Testament. 1. *παρακαλεῖσθαι δειπνῆσαι*. 2. *παρακαλεῖσθαι* as used of an invitation to a feast. 3. *ἔξχων*. 4. *δειπνοκλήτωρ*. 5. *κάτω χορέω*. 6. *ἦττων τόπος*. 7. *συνάγω* in the sense in which it is here used. And besides these, the following are never used in Matthew's Gospel. 8. *ἐλάττω*. 9. *δειπνέω*. 10. *ἐνδοξος*. 11. *ἐπερχόμαι*. 12. *καταισχύνω*. 13. *ἦττων*. 14. *χρήσιμος*.

In regard to the last word, it may be observed, that the use of the epithet "profitable," applied, as it is here, to a course of conduct by way of recommending it, is very foreign from the manner of Jesus.

II. In the Codex Stephani η, it is said that instead of the last twelve verses of Mark's Gospel, the genuineness of which we have before examined, the following conclusion was found in some manuscripts.†

Πάντα δὲ τὰ παρηγγελμένα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πέτρον συντόμως ἐξήγγειλαν. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς καὶ ἄχρι δύσεως ἐξαπέστειλε δι' αὐτῶν τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἄφθαρτον κήρυγμα τῆς αἰωνίου σωτηρίας.

* Ch. xiv. vv. 7-11. † See before, p. lxx.

- “And, without delay, they made known to Peter and his companions all which had been commanded. And after this, Jesus himself sent forth through them the holy and incorruptible preaching of the eternal salvation from the rising to the setting of the sun.”

The difference between the use of language in this passage and that of Mark and the other evangelists, is so obvious, even in a translation, that no particular comments upon it are necessary.

III. The Cambridge manuscript, and two others, at Luke vi. 5, have the following passage.

Τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ θεασάμενός τινα ἐργαζόμενον τῷ σαββάτῳ, εἶπεν αὐτῷ Ὁ Θεὸς, εἰ μὲν οἶδας τί ποιεῖς, μακάριος εἶ· εἰ δὲ μὴ οἶδας, ἐπικατάρατος καὶ παραβάτης εἶ τοῦ νόμου.

“The same day beholding one working on the Sabbath, he said to him: Man, if thou knowest what thou art doing, thou art blessed; but if thou dost not know, thou art accursed, and art a transgressor of the Law.”

According to Luke's practice, the first words would not be *τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ*, but *ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ*. See xiii. 31. xxiii. 12. xxiv. 13. The other form of words is nowhere used by him, or either of the other evangelists. *Εἰ μὲν*, without the addition of *οὖν* or *γὰρ*, does not occur in his writings; nor the word *ἐπικατάρατος*, nor *παραβάτης*; nor the combination *εἰ δὲ μὴ*. For *εἰ δὲ μὴ οἶδας* he would probably have written, according to his custom, *εἰ δὲ μήγε*, simply; as in v. 36, 37. x. 6. xiii. 9. xiv. 32.

But, above all, the dissonance between the words ascribed to Jesus and the general tone of his instructions, must strike every one.

ONE passage which I have referred to in the body of

the work (p. 79), as an unquestionable interpolation, is the story of the woman taken in adultery, as inserted in four manuscripts at the end of the twenty-first chapter of Luke. It is remarkable that no striking difference can be detected between the language of this account and that of either Luke or John, who resemble each other in the narrative portions of their respective Gospels, except that in John there is often a want of particles of transition and connexion, which there is not in Luke, nor in the passage referred to. It is not, perhaps, an improbable supposition, that this correspondence of style has arisen from the circumstance, that the story, though not inserted by John himself in his Gospel, was written down from his oral narration. At least, if it is, as I believe, a true account, it was, probably, written down from the oral narration of one or other of the apostles, and its style might, therefore, be expected to bear a general resemblance to that of some one or more of the Gospels.

BUT, however this may be, the diversity between the characteristics of the three interpolations before mentioned, and the characteristics of the Gospels, is sufficient to show how different would have been the aspect of the Gospels from what it now is, had not each been the work of a single writer.

Any other supposition is inconsistent with the peculiar and uniform character which belongs to them, regarded both as a class of books and individually; and this distinct character is strikingly illustrated by such a comparison as we have made between it and that of the few undisputed interpolations which have found their way into some manuscripts. The results of the comparison are the more remarkable, considering that such a difference is evident, notwithstanding the passages are so brief.

IN this note I have spoken of *undisputed* interpolations; and we have seen, that, beside other internal marks of spuriousness, they are distinguished by a different use of words from that of the evangelists. In a preceding note I have pointed out some passages, which I regard as probable interpolations; and have, in like manner, so far as the respective cases admitted of it, compared the use of words in them with that found in the Gospels, and drawn an argument against their genuineness from the apparent discrepancy between the two.

NOTE D.

(See pages 97, 153, and 163.)

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE CORRESPONDENCES AMONG THE FIRST THREE GOSPELS.

SECTION I.

Preliminary Statement.

THE remarkable agreement among the first three Gospels, has given occasion to many attempts to explain its origin. But, generally, in the hypotheses that have been framed, it has not been sufficiently kept in mind, that its occurrence with so much that is dissimilar, is one of the principal phenomena to be accounted for ; and that, though our ultimate purpose be to solve the problem of the correspondences among those Gospels, it must embrace likewise a solution of their differences. Together with this, the appearances to be explained are as follows.

Many portions of the history of Jesus are found in common in the first three Gospels ; others are common to two of their number, but not found in the third. In the passages referred to, there is generally a similarity, sometimes a very great similarity, in the selection of particular circumstances, in the aspect under which the event is viewed, and the style in which it is related. Sometimes, the language found in different Gospels, though not identical, is equivalent, or nearly equivalent ; and, not unfrequently, the same

series of words, with or without slight variations, occurs throughout the whole, or a great part of a sentence, and even in larger portions.

The occurrence of passages verbally the same, or strikingly coincident in the use of many of the same words, which appearances I shall denote by the term, *verbal coincidence*, or *verbal agreement*, particularly demands attention. In maintaining the hypothesis, that the evangelists copied from common documents, much stress has been laid upon it; but its importance, as a ground of argument for that hypothesis, disappears, when the subject is more thoroughly examined, and viewed in a proper light. By far the larger portion of this verbal agreement is found in the recital of the words of others, and particularly of the words of Jesus. Thus, in Matthew's Gospel, the passages verbally coincident with one or both of the other two Gospels, amount to less than a sixth part of its contents; and of this, about seven eighths occur in the recital of the words of others, and only about one eighth in what, by way of distinction, I may call mere narrative, in which the evangelist, speaking in his own person, was unrestrained in the choice of his expressions. In Mark, the proportion of coincident passages to the whole contents of the Gospel is about one sixth, of which not one fifth occurs in the narrative. Luke has still less agreement of expression with the other evangelists. The passages in which it is found amount only to about a tenth part of his Gospel; and but an inconsiderable portion of it appears in the narrative; in which there are very few instances of its existence for more than half a dozen words together.* It may be computed as less than a twentieth part.

* The most remarkable example is Luke ix. 16, where Luke coincides with both Matthew and Mark, through more than half a verse.

These definite proportions are important, as showing distinctly in how small a part of each Gospel there is any verbal coincidence with either of the other two; and to how great a degree such coincidence is confined to passages in which the evangelists professedly give the words of others, particularly of Jesus.

The proportions should, however, be further compared with those which the narrative part of each Gospel bears to that in which the words of others are professedly repeated. Matthew's narrative occupies about one fourth of his Gospel; Mark's about one half, and Luke's about one third. It may easily be computed, therefore, that the proportion of verbal coincidence found in the narrative part of each Gospel, compared with what exists in the other part, is about in the following ratios; in Matthew as one to somewhat more than two, in Mark as one to four, and in Luke as one to ten.

As a preliminary, then, toward accounting for the agreement of language in the first three Gospels, we must divide each of them into two portions; the one consisting of that part in which the evangelist speaks in his own person, and the other of words professedly not his own. Having done this, it appears from the statements before made, that the same cause could not have operated alone in both these different portions, to produce coincidence of language. We cannot explain this phenomenon by the supposition, that the Gospels were transcribed either one from another, or all from common documents; because, if such transcription had been the cause, it would not have produced results so unequal in the different portions into which the Gospels naturally divide themselves.

But in regard to the words of Jesus, other causes were in operation, that may account for the verbal coincidences among the evangelists, in their reports of what he said.

There was, in this case, an invariable archetype, to which each writer would endeavour to conform himself. Events may be correctly related in many forms of language different from each other. Words can be repeated with accuracy only in one form. But each of the first three evangelists intended to give the words of his master as they were uttered by him. Nor is it to be supposed, that the evangelist, while writing, merely recollected those words as having been formerly uttered by Jesus, and repeated them for the first time. He had often, without doubt, quoted them in his oral discourses, and heard them quoted by his fellow-preachers of Christianity. From the nature of the case, they must, many of them, have become formularies in which the doctrines and precepts of our religion were expressed. The agreement of the first three evangelists, in their reports of the words of Christ, is no greater than these considerations would lead us to anticipate. There is no ground for any other hypothesis concerning it.

Some of the same considerations will explain also the agreement of the evangelists, so far as it exists, in their reports of the words spoken by others beside their master, particularly such as were connected with his own, as leading to some reply or remark from him.

There is another case in which the first three evangelists repeat the words of others. It is in their quotations from the Old Testament. These are commonly derived from the Septuagint version, without direct reference to the Hebrew text. Those which they have in common, all appear to have been taken from that version; whether they are found in our Greek translation of St. Matthew's Gospel, or in the Greek originals of Mark and Luke. Now, in as far as the evangelists verbally agree at once with the Septuagint and each other, or in as far as they verbally differ from each

other in their quotations, no explanation is required as regards our present purpose. Neither circumstance can prove a connexion among them of any kind. But there are several instances in which either two or all three of the evangelists agree with each other, and at the same time differ from our present copies of the Septuagint. In regard to this fact it is to be observed, that the text of the Septuagint has, from various causes, undergone very considerable changes, and we cannot conclude that, because a reading is not found in any of our present copies, it was not extant in copies in the time of the evangelists.* If there be cases, as I believe there are, in which two or all of the evangelists agree in a reading, not only varying from the text of our present copies, but from that of the copies commonly used by them, these cases may be explained by the supposition, that the passage, having been frequently used in the oral discourses of the apostles and their companions, had undergone a change of its original form. This change

* This remark may be illustrated by the different reading of two of our present copies in a passage (Zechariah xlii. 7.), which Matthew (xxvi. 31) and Mark (xiv. 27) agree verbally in quoting, except that two words are added by Matthew. As given by them, it is as follows: Παράξω τὸν πομῖνα, καὶ διασκορπισθήσεται τὰ πρόβατα: (Matthew adds, *τῆς ποιμνῆς*.) The reading of this passage in the Vatican text of the Septuagint, is: Παράξαι τοὺς πομῖνας, καὶ λυτῶσθαι τὰ πρόβατα. Here seems a great variation in the evangelists; but the Alexandrine text of the Septuagint has these words: Παράξω τὸν πομῖνα, καὶ διασκορπισθήσεται τὰ πρόβατα τῆς ποιμνῆς. Such differences of reading existing in our present copies of the Septuagint, it is not improbable, that the copies extant in the age of the evangelists had still different readings, to which the quotations in the Gospels may have been conformed in some of the examples of verbal coincidence with each other, in which they differ from all existing manuscripts of the Septuagint.

may have been accidental, as verbal accuracy was often neglected in such quotations; or it may have been made intentionally, as there sometimes appear to be reasons for it. In either case, it would be the form of words with which the evangelists were most familiar.

The preceding remarks respecting the recital of the language of others by the first three evangelists, will hereafter receive further illustration. I make them in this place, that they may be kept in view during our examination of those hypotheses, according to which the verbal coincidences and other correspondences among the first three evangelists are the result of their having copied, either one from another or all from common documents. No argument for either supposition, can, I think, be founded upon their agreement in their reports or citations of the words of others. In this portion of their Gospels, the amount of verbal coincidence is not greater than what the causes suggested might lead us to expect.

THERE is another consideration to be attended to, respecting the verbal correspondence of the first three Gospels. Whether we take the term in a stricter or looser sense, as denoting either sameness, or great resemblance, or equivalence of language, this correspondence does not lie together in masses. With rare exceptions, it does not extend unbroken through passages of any considerable length. It is in fragments, scattered here and there, and interrupted by a dissimilitude of ideas and language, running through far the greater part of each Gospel. As an example of this intermixture in a particular passage, we may take the account of the cure of the paralytic at Capernaum. As the verbal correspondence of the evangelists may be made as apparent in our own language as in the

original, I shall in this, and in other similar cases, give the passages quoted in a translation. The *diversity* of expression cannot always be equally well represented; but this is unimportant as regards our purpose.

Matthew ix. 1-8.

And going on board the boat, he passed over and came to his own city.

And lo! they brought to him a paralytic, laid on a bed.

And Jesus, perceiving their faith, said to the paralytic; Take courage, son! Thy sins are forgiven thee.

Mark ii. 1-12.

And again, after some days, he entered Capernaum; and the news spread that he was in his house there. And immediately many were collected, so that there was no room for them even before the door; and he taught them his doctrine.

And they came to him bringing a paralytic, borne by four men. And not being able to get near him on account of the crowd, they took off a part of the roof over where he was, and, breaking through, let down the bed on which the paralytic was lying.

And Jesus, perceiving their faith, said to the paralytic; Son! thy sins are forgiven.

Luke v. 17-26.

And it was on one of those days, that he was teaching, and there were sitting by, Pharisees and Teachers of the Law, who had come from every town of Galilee and Judea, and from Jerusalem; and the power of the Lord was displayed in the healing of the sick.

And lo! some persons brought on a bed a man who was a paralytic, and they were desirous to carry him in and lay him before Jesus. And not finding any way to carry him in, on account of the crowd, they got upon the house-top, and lowered him down through the tiling, with his bed, into the midst, before Jesus.

And perceiving their faith, he said, Man! thy sins are forgiven thee.

Matthew.

And, behold ! some of the Teachers of the Law said within themselves, This man blasphemes.

And Jesus, perceiving their thoughts, said ; Why are ye thinking evil in your hearts ? For which is easier, to say, Thy sins are forgiven, or to say, Rise, and walk. But, that ye may know, that the Son of Man has authority upon earth to forgive sins — then he says to the paralytic ; Rise, take up thy bed,* and go to thy house.

And he rose up and went to his house.

Mark.

But there were some of the Teachers of the Law sitting there, who said in their hearts ; How is it, that this man speaks such blasphemies ? Who can forgive sins, except one, God ?

But Jesus, immediately knowing in his mind, that they thus thought within them, said to them ; Why think ye thus in your hearts ? — Which is easier, to say to the paralytic, Thy sins are forgiven, or to say, Rise, take up thy bed, and walk. But that ye may know, that the Son of Man has authority upon earth to forgive sins—he says to the paralytic ; I say to thee, Rise, take up thy bed,* and go to thy house.

And he rose up immediately, and taking up his bed, he went out before them all ;

Luke.

And the Teachers of the Law and the Pharisees began to say in their hearts ; Who is this man who speaks blasphemies ? Who can forgive sins except God alone ?

But Jesus, knowing their thoughts, said to them ; What are ye thinking in your hearts ? Which is easier, to say, Thy sins are forgiven, or to say, Rise, and walk. But that ye may know, that the Son of Man has authority upon earth to forgive sins — he said to the paralytic ; I say to thee, Rise, and, taking up thy bed,* go to thy house.

And rising up directly before them, and taking up what he was lying upon, he went to his house, glorifying God.

* The three evangelists use three different terms for bed ; Matthew, *κλίνη* ; Mark, *κράββατος*, and Luke *κλινίδιον*.

Matthew.	Mark.	Luke.
And the multitude who were looking on, were struck with astonishment, and glorified God, the giver of such power to men.	so that they were all full of amazement, and glorified God, saying, We never saw the like.	And astonishment seized upon all; and they glorified God, and were filled with awe, saying, We have seen wonderful things to-day.

Thus, in other passages, in which there is a verbal correspondence among the evangelists, it sometimes amounts to identity of language, though very rarely through a whole sentence, where they narrate in their own persons; sometimes, on the other hand, it presents various shades of resemblance, and, in either case, is almost always broken into short portions, and separated by matter in which the evangelists diverge from each other, — sometimes relating the same incident differently, as in the account given by Mark and Luke of the mode by which the paralytic was conveyed to Jesus. It is evident, therefore, that no theory to account for the agreement of the first three Gospels, one with another, can be satisfactory, unless it afford, likewise, an explanation of their want of agreement, or in other words of the peculiar circumstances under which their correspondences present themselves.

We will now turn to another fact, which requires our attention, in reference to the agreement and disagreement of the first three Gospels. It is, that, in the order of events *related in common by the three evangelists*, Mark and Luke differ from Matthew, and coincide with each other, particularly in three remarkable instances.

In the first of them, Matthew (viii. 1-4) represents the cure of a leper as having been performed by Christ previously to his being in Capernaum on the Sabbath, as

related in the eighth chapter of his Gospel, while Mark and Luke represent what is obviously the same cure as having been performed after Christ's leaving the city.*

Another discrepancy, which is more extraordinary, is as follows. According to Matthew, Jesus, in the evening (as appears) of the Sabbath (Saturday) just mentioned, which he spent at Capernaum, left the city, crossed the lake of Galilee in a boat with his disciples, miraculously stilled a tempest, which befell them on their course, arrived in the country of the Gadarenes, and there restored sanity to two demoniacs, returned immediately after to Capernaum, and on Monday (as appears) cured a person afflicted with palsy, called Matthew to be a disciple, was present at an entertainment (in Matthew's house, as we learn from Luke), justified his disciples for not fasting, healed a woman with an issue of blood, and restored the daughter of Jairus to life.† On the other hand, Mark and Luke represent the voyage across the lake of Galilee, and the events of the two days following, — excepting the cure of the paralytic, the call of Matthew, and the entertainment at his house with the conversation about fasting connected with it, ‡ — as having taken place at a later period of Christ's ministry, after the discourse in which he delivered a number of parables near the shore by Capernaum. § No reason can be assigned, why Matthew should not have related all the events mentioned, in their proper order. As an apostle, he had the best means of becoming acquainted with the time and place of different transactions. Mark and Luke,

* Mark i. 40 – 45. Luke v. 12 – 15. † Matthew viii. 16. – ix. 28.

‡ To these events they may be considered as assigning the same period with St. Matthew, though with less definiteness. See Mark ii. 1 – 22. Luke v. 17 – 39.

§ Mark iv. 35. – v. 43. Luke viii. 22 – 56.

on the other hand, were not apostles; and in Luke's Gospel there are, beside the present, many clear indications, that he had but an imperfect knowledge of the succession of events, and was often uninformed of the particular place where they occurred.* There is, further, what seems a

* Thus the cure of the leper, mentioned above, is represented by Matthew (viii. 1-5.) as having been performed just before our Saviour entered Capernaum; but the indefiniteness of Luke's information respecting the place of its performance, appears in the manner in which he introduces the account (v. 12.); "And when he was in a *certain city*, behold! a man full of leprosy."—The cure of the paralytic, likewise mentioned above, we learn both from Matthew (ix. 1.) and Mark (ii. 1.), was wrought at Capernaum; while Luke (v. 16, 17.), after saying that Jesus withdrew to solitary places to pray, immediately proceeds, without note of time or place, to introduce the narrative thus; "And it happened one day." So the voyage across the lake of Galilee to the country of the Gadarenes is related by Matthew (viii. 16, 18.) as having commenced on the evening of the Sabbath, when Jesus first publicly appeared at Capernaum, and by Mark (iv. 35.) is referred (I suppose erroneously) to the evening of the day when Jesus preached in parables; but Luke (viii. 22.) again commences this narrative in the same manner as the last mentioned; "And it happened one day."

The want of chronological order in Luke's Gospel is a point of some importance. It is evident, I think, in the case remarked upon in the text; but it may be worth while to add a few more instances.

I. Matthew (iv. 18-20.) and Mark (i. 16-18.) relate, that Peter was called to be a disciple before the public appearance of Jesus at Capernaum; and that Jesus, when at Capernaum, proceeded from the synagogue to Peter's house, where he cured his wife's mother of a fever. Luke, who mentions the last events, represents the call of Peter as taking place subsequently, when Jesus had left Capernaum; and describes Peter as struck with consternation at a miracle then performed by our Saviour. (v. 1-11.)

II. It is, I think, likewise evident, that Luke confounded the discourse called the Sermon on the Mount, which Jesus, as related by Matthew, delivered before his public appearance in Capernaum,

decisive reason for believing, that Matthew has not misplaced the particular events in question. According to his

with that which he addressed to his apostles immediately after their appointment. (Matth. ch. x.) Luke (vi. 12-49.) represents our Saviour upon this occasion, not as giving to his newly-appointed apostles the appropriate directions, referring to their peculiar duties, which, according to Matthew, himself an apostle, he actually did, but as uttering the Sermon on the Mount; at the close of which he relates, that Jesus entered Capernaum, and cured the servant of a centurion. To the last events, Matthew assigns the same relative order in reference to the Sermon on the Mount. By Luke, the whole appears to have been introduced out of its proper place.

III. Passing over other examples, of less importance, or which cannot be explained in so few words, I will adduce but one more.

In the ninth chapter of his Gospel (vv. 51, 52.) Luke says; "But when the time was near for his being received into Heaven, he set his face steadily to go to Jerusalem; and sent messengers before him, who went into a village of Samaritans to prepare for him." The journey, the commencement of which is here mentioned, probably occurred some months before our Saviour's crucifixion. It was, as I suppose, when he was going up to the feast of Tabernacles, mentioned in the seventh chapter of John's Gospel. But the language of Luke, which would, at first sight, imply that it was his last journey to Jerusalem, is, I think, irreconcilable with the supposition of any subsequent return to Galilee. In the tenth chapter (v. 38.), we find Jesus arrived at Bethany (*a certain town*, Luke says, without giving the name), the residence of Martha and Mary, a short distance only from Jerusalem. But in the eleventh chapter (vv. 14-23.), Luke relates the cure of a demoniac, and the reply of Jesus to the charge, that he cast out demons by the power of Beelzebub, which, according to both Matthew and Mark, occurred in Galilee. In the thirteenth chapter (v. 22.), we are told, that Jesus "went through the cities and villages, teaching, on his way to Jerusalem"; but in the same chapter (vv. 31-32.), we find him still in the dominions of Herod, probably in Peræa; for the Pharisees are represented as telling him, for the purpose of inducing him to leave the country, that Herod, its ruler, was desirous of destroying him; while, again, in the seventeenth chapter (v. 11.), Luke speaks of

narrative, it appears, that they all took place during three days, on the last of which he was called to be a disciple. The miraculous cure of Jairus's daughter he relates, as immediately following the entertainment at his own house. But it is impossible that his memory should have deceived him respecting the time when such events occurred; and that he should have imagined them to have been in so close connexion with the most important incident in his own life, if they had not taken place till a later period of Christ's ministry. The agreement, therefore, between Mark and Luke cannot be explained by the supposition, that they observed the order of time, and Matthew did not; nor can it well be regarded as a mere accident, consequent solely

him as on his way to Jerusalem, "passing along the confines of Samaria and Galilee," which implies that he was journeying from Galilee.

Throughout far the greater part of Luke's Gospel, and in regard to all but a few leading events in Christ's history, there seems to me a want of chronological order.

I may here add, that, it is far from being the fact, as might be supposed from some of the statements on the subject, that where Mark or Luke differ from the arrangement of Matthew, in the matter common to all three, they uniformly agree with each other. Two examples to the contrary have been given in this note; one, in the call of Peter; and the other, in the reply of Jesus to the charge, that he cast out demons by the power of Beelzebub. (Matth. xii. 23-37. Mark iii. 11, 23-30. Luke xi. 14-23.) In the account, likewise, of the preaching of Jesus at Nazareth (Matth. xiii. 54-58. Mark vi. 1-6. Luke iv. 16-30.), and in the account of the attempt of his mother and relations to obtain access to him while he was teaching the people (Matth. xii. 46-50. Mark iii. 31-35. Luke viii. 19-21.), Luke differs from the arrangement of Matthew, while Mark coincides with it. The only important instances of the agreement of Mark and Luke, in deviating from the order of Matthew, are mentioned in the text.

upon their both being ignorant of the real succession of events.

Beside the two already mentioned, there is another instance in which Mark and Luke differ in common from the order of Matthew. They place the accounts of his disciples passing through a field of grain on the Sabbath, and of his curing on the Sabbath, in a synagogue, a man with a withered hand, before the appointment of the apostles; while Matthew refers both events to a subsequent period.

Among the phenomena of agreement and disagreement in the Gospels, the consent of Mark and Luke in differing from the arrangement of Matthew, is, perhaps, most difficult of explanation; but it may serve as a test of the probability of some of the hypotheses which have been formed to account for those phenomena.

As regards any hypothesis intended for this purpose, beside accounting for those phenomena, there are other conditions which it must fulfill. It must be consistent with the historical facts relating to the early history of the Gospels, and with the intrinsic probabilities respecting their composition. It must correspond to the habits of the age, and particularly to those of the Jews of Palestine. If we regard the Gospels as genuine, it must accord with the character and circumstances of the first three evangelists, and, in any case, with the general character of the works themselves. It must explain the phenomena, which constitute the problem to be solved, consistently with all the other phenomena which the Gospels present. These works, for instance, show that their authors, whoever they were, had no habits of literary composition, that they were unaccustomed to commit events to writing; and whatever supposition we may make, should be consistent with this obvious

fact. And, lastly, any hypothesis, to be admissible, must assign a reasonable motive for what it represents the authors of the Gospel to have done ; or, to express the same thing in other words, must not represent them as acting in a manner unreasonable and unaccountable.

In treating of the hypotheses to be examined, I shall use language conformed to the belief of the genuineness of the Gospels. I have already endeavoured to show, that no hypothesis for explaining their correspondences is tenable upon a contrary supposition ;* nor has it been common to maintain any such hypothesis in connexion with an explicit denial of their genuineness. I, however, adopt the language in question, principally for the sake of convenience and perspicuity ; and to avoid that embarrassment and diffuseness of expression, which would arise from an attempt to present the problem to be solved, in its most general and indefinite form. Many, though not all, of the arguments I shall adduce respecting the first two hypotheses examined, are equally applicable, whoever may be considered as the authors of the Gospels ; so that they would lose none of their force, if the names of those authors were denoted by algebraic symbols, carrying no associations with them. The hypothesis I shall defend supposes, that the Gospels have been ascribed to their true authors ; and, if it afford the only satisfactory solution of their correspondences, must afford, at the same time, additional proof of that fact. But I do not, it is to be observed, found the present inquiry upon the conclusion which I have before endeavoured to establish, that no hypothesis can explain the correspondence of the Gospels, except upon the supposition, that they were written in the apostolic age, or what is equivalent, the supposi-

* See p. 151 seqq.

tion of their genuineness; on the contrary, I trust, that this conclusion will receive new confirmation from what follows.

WITH these views of the nature of the facts to be explained, of the conditions required in their explanation, and of the form in which the inquiry may most conveniently be pursued, we will now proceed to consider the different theories that have been proposed to account for the agreement of the first three Gospels.

SECTION II.

On the Supposition, that Two of the Evangelists copied, One from his Predecessor, and the Other from Both his Predecessors.

THE most obvious solution of the phenomenon in question, which has formerly been very generally adopted, is that the evangelists copied one from another. In maintaining this hypothesis, we must suppose, that the latest copied from the two preceding, and the second in order of time from his predecessor; since there are agreements between any two of the three Gospels, for which it will not otherwise account. To determine whether this hypothesis be tenable, we will consider a particular form of it, which is as plausible as any other. It is the supposition that Luke copied from Matthew, and Mark from both Matthew and Luke.

I. Now the first consideration is, that when we ascribe to an individual an action of which we have no direct proof, we must assign some probable motive for the action; and there appears no reasonable inducement for Mark to have

formed such a Gospel as his own, from those of Matthew and Luke. He could not have so deceived himself as to suppose, that he was writing what, to any class of men, would be a more valuable history of Christ than either of theirs. He could not suppose, that it would supply the place, or supersede the use, of either. He could not have written his Gospel for the sake of the small additions which he has made of original matter; for they are so small in amount as to render the supposition incredible. Had it been his object to give supplementary matter, he might, without doubt, have collected much more; and with this purpose, he would not, as he has done, have repeated passages, which, if he copied, he has only abridged. It may be suggested, that he intended to make a Gospel, which, being more brief than the other two, might be transcribed at less expense, and read in a shorter time; and which would, therefore, circulate more widely. But this notion, derived from the booksellers' trade of modern days, is not to be transferred to the times of the ancient Christians. Among their other sacrifices, they would not have reckoned that of a few denarii, if given as the extra cost of a more complete Gospel; nor would they have been unwilling to spare the additional half-hour required for its reading. Beside, Mark's Gospel, though but about three fifths of the size of the other two, has not, in other respects, the character either of an abridgment or a selection from them. There is, occasionally, such coincidence of language with the Gospel of Luke, where there is nothing answering in Matthew, that if we account for phenomena of this sort by supposing one evangelist to have transcribed from another, we must believe, that Mark copied Luke, or Luke copied Mark. The hypothesis under consideration is, that Mark transcribed from Luke. But, this being supposed, we are unable

to account for another fact, that, from the matter furnished by Luke, additional to what is in Matthew, Mark has taken comparatively so little. The Gospel of Luke would not have come within his plan of abridgment.

II. If we suppose Mark and Luke to have copied from Matthew, there are discrepancies between them and Matthew, for which we cannot account. It is true, that the simple fact, that there are discrepancies between two evangelists, does not prove, that one may not have copied the other; for the later writer may have intended to correct the mistakes of his predecessor. But the discrepancies may be of such a kind as to render this supposition improbable or incredible. Thus Matthew relates, that two demoniacs among the Gadarenes were restored to sanity by Jesus, and that he gave sight to two blind men near Jericho, while Mark and Luke, in each case, mention only one. The difference is of no importance, considering them all as independent historians; but it is highly improbable, that Matthew would have spoken of two, if there had been only one, or that Mark and Luke would have varied from his account in this particular, had they been acquainted with it. In the narrative of another fact, the withering of the barren fig-tree, Matthew represents it as the immediate consequence of the words of Jesus, as taking place as soon as they were uttered, and the astonishment and awe felt by the disciples appear in him as expressed at the moment; "And the disciples seeing it, were struck with awe, and said, How suddenly this fig-tree has withered!"* It may seem, at first view, difficult to account for the emotion of the disciples, after all the other astonishing miracles which they had

* See Matthew xxi. 18 seqq.

witnessed. But we may understand it, when we consider the striking visible phenomenon presented, so different from any which Jesus had before effected, its startling suddenness, and the peculiar character of the miracle, unlike his former works of mercy, a symbolical act, a visible parable, as it were, intended to indicate the punishment about to fall upon the great body of the Jews, to whom Jesus had "come seeking fruit and had found none."* The account of Matthew is consistent and probable. But Mark† represents the words of our Saviour as having been uttered on one morning, and the effect of them upon the fig-tree as having been first observed by his disciples the following morning; when Peter "*remembered* and said to him; Master, behold this fig-tree which thou didst curse, has withered." That the disciples remarked upon the event not only when it occurred, but also as they were passing the tree the following morning, is not improbable; and it may have been on the following morning, likewise, and not immediately after the occurrence of the event, that our Saviour announced to them those miraculous powers, which, if they had faith, would be granted to them, as recorded both by Matthew and Mark. We may thus account for the manner in which Mark has represented the transaction. But there can be little doubt, that the astonishment of the disciples was expressed directly after the occurrence of the miracle; nor can we suppose, that Mark, with the account of Matthew before him, would have given such a one as appears in his Gospel.

The differences of narration, of which these are speci-

* See the parable of the barren fig-tree (Luke xiii. 6-9.), which is to be considered as explanatory of this miracle.

† Ch. xi. 12-14, 20 seqq.

mens, afford proof, that neither Mark nor Luke copied from Matthew. But the most striking discrepancies between the evangelists regard the chronological order of events. The voyage, before mentioned, across the lake of Galilee to the country of the Gadarenes, with the facts connected with and following it, is, as we have seen, clearly referred by Matthew to a certain period of Christ's ministry; nor can there, I think, be a reasonable doubt, that he has assigned those events their true place. On the contrary, Mark, explicitly and circumstantially, states them as having occurred at a different time. After relating that Jesus taught by the sea-side in parables, he proceeds; "And the same day, in the evening, he said to his disciples, Let us cross to the other side;" * and then follows an account of the voyage. Now, if Matthew's order be correct, as we believe, Mark could have no good reason for differing from it; nor would he have differed from it, had he, as has been supposed, taken Matthew's Gospel as his main guide in the composition of his own.

Similar reasoning is equally conclusive against the supposition, that Luke transcribed from Matthew's Gospel. Being evidently unacquainted with the chronological order of many events, and the place of their occurrence, if he had borrowed any assistance from Matthew, he would have taken him for a guide in those respects.

III. We proceed to another remark. Should we suppose, that Mark founded his Gospel on the other two Gospels, we shall find, upon comparing all three together, that there is no principle of selection, which can reasonably be ascribed to him. A characteristic distinction between Mark and the

* Mark iv. 35.

other two evangelists is, that he gives, comparatively, but few of the declarations and precepts of Jesus, and his Gospel is more a simple narrative of actions and events. Now this may be explained, if we suppose Mark to have written his Gospel with a limited view, for the use of individuals already instructed in Christianity, on whose minds the words of Christ had been deeply impressed by oral teaching, and to whom, therefore, only the frame-work of his history was necessary in order to enable them to define and arrange their recollections; but, if we believe Mark to have been familiar with the other two Gospels, we cannot imagine him to have believed another history necessary for such a purpose. He must have written his own with a view more prospective; and this being supposed, it is not credible, that he should have thought it advisable to omit a large portion of the words of our Saviour, and many striking incidents in his life, which, being in the books before him, it would have cost him only the labor of transcription to preserve in his own. As I have said, no rational principle of selection can be assigned, to account for what he has taken and what he has omitted. Should it be said, that he thought the other Gospels would go down to posterity together with his own, the question recurs; What was his purpose in writing? Why did he undertake this labor, evidently foreign from his habits of mind?

IV. LET us view the subject under another aspect. To the accounts which Mark gives in common with the other evangelists, he often adds particular circumstances not narrated by them. But he who is acquainted with the minor particulars of an event, is, of course, well acquainted with its principal features. Now the knowledge of those particulars, which he has added, not being derived by him from

the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, it follows, that he was not dependent upon those Gospels for a knowledge of the main fact itself. Sometimes, Mark varies in his accounts from one or both of the other evangelists. There is a discrepancy between them. If he used their Gospels, he would thus have varied from them only for the purpose of giving what he believed a more accurate account than they had done. In all such cases as have been mentioned, it is clear, that Mark, believing himself to be fully and correctly possessed of the facts, might have written as he has done without any knowledge of the other two evangelists. When, with the differences that have been mentioned, there is a striking difference of language likewise, it becomes apparent, that Mark, in such passages, made no use of his supposed predecessors. Of passages of this kind, I will give one as an example, placing in parallel columns an English version of the text of the three evangelists, as their difference of language may be sufficiently represented in a translation. The passage is an account of the curing of the demoniac boy, immediately after our Saviour's transfiguration.

Matthew xvii. 14 - 21.

Mark ix. 14 - 29.

Luke ix. 37 - 43.

And when they came to the multitude,

And when he came to his disciples, he saw a great multitude about them, and the Teachers of the Law disputing with them. And, immediately, the whole multitude, upon seeing him, was struck with awe, and running towards him, saluted him. And

And, on the following day, as they were descending the mountain, a great multitude met him.

Matthew.

Mark.

Luke.

he asked them; What were ye disputing about together ?

a man met him, and, falling on his knees before him, said ; Master, have pity on my son, for he is a lunatic, and suffers grievously ; for he often falls into the fire, and often into the water ;

And one of the multitude answered ; Teacher, I brought my son to thee, who has a dumb spirit ; and when it seizes him, it throws him down, and he foams at his mouth and gnashes his teeth, and becomes insensible ; *

And, behold ! a man from the multitude cried out, saying ; Teacher, I beseech thee to look upon my son ; for he is my only son ; and, behold ! a spirit seizes him, and utters a sudden cry, and convulses him so that he foams at his mouth, and hardly departs from him, leaving him utterly exhausted ;

and I brought him to thy disciples ; and they could not heal him. Then Jesus said ; Unbelieving and perverse race ! how long shall I be with you ? how long must I bear with you ? Bring him hither to me.

and I spoke to thy disciples to cast it out, and they were not able. Then Jesus said to them ; Unbelieving race ! how long shall I be with you ? how long must I bear with you ? Bring him to me.

and I besought thy disciples to cast it out, and they could not. Then Jesus said ; Unbelieving and perverse race ! how long shall I be with you, and bear with you ? Bring thy son hither.

And they brought him to him ; and as soon as he saw Jesus, the spirit convulsed him ; and, falling down, he rolled upon the ground, foaming at

And while he was coming, the demon threw him down, and convulsed him.

* *Kai ἔρχεται*. It is impossible to determine in what sense Mark uses this term. Perhaps it should be rendered, "and is wasting away."

Matthew.

Mark.

Luke.

his mouth. And Jesus questioned his father; How long has it been thus with him? And he answered; From a child. And often it casts him into fire and into water, to destroy him. But, if thou canst do any thing, have pity upon us and help us. Then Jesus said to him; What means this, 'If thou canst'? All things may be done for him who has faith. And, immediately, the father of the child, crying out with tears, said; I have faith; help thou my want of faith. Then Jesus, seeing that the multitude was running together to the spot, rebuked the unclean spirit, saying to it; Thou dumb and deaf spirit, I command thee, come out of him and enter him no more. And uttering a cry, and convulsing him much, it came out of him. And he was

And Jesus rebuked the demon, so that it came out of him, and the boy was well from that hour.

But Jesus rebuked the unclean spirit, and healed the child, and delivered him to his father.

Matthew.

Mark.

Luke.

as if dead, so that many said; He is dead. But Jesus taking him by the hand, raised him, and he stood up.

And all were astonished at this display of the power of God.

Then the disciples came to Jesus apart, and said; Why could not we cast him out? And Jesus said to them; Through your want of faith; for I tell you in truth, had ye faith as a grain of mustard seed, should you say to this mountain, Remove from this place to that, it would remove; and nothing would be impossible to you. But it is only through prayer and fasting, that this race may be expelled.	And after he had entered a house, his disciples asked him, privately; Why could we not cast him out? And he said to them; By nothing but prayer and fasting can this race be cast out.
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In this passage, as in others, it is clear, not merely that Mark did not copy Matthew or Luke; but that no one of the evangelists copied either of the other two. This is not a matter of argument, it is only the statement of a fact apparent on inspection.

V. But, it may be said, that no one supposes, that Mark derived his knowledge of the events in Christ's ministry

solely from the Gospels of Matthew and Luke ; on the contrary, as a preacher of Christianity, he must have been well acquainted with them from other sources. Nor is it maintained, that he transcribed from one or the other in every case where he relates the same events. But what is contended for, is, that he made use of their Gospels, particularly that of Matthew, in composing his own ; and that this supposition is proved by the remarkable correspondences between his Gospel and each of the other two, in various passages. These resemblances, it may be urged, are so great as to render it highly probable, that one evangelist copied from another.

In this reasoning it is supposed, that one evangelist copied from another, because the resemblance between them is so great. I answer, that very few instances can be pointed out, in which this supposition does not require a much greater resemblance than exists ; and that most of the passages in which it is found, instead of rendering it probable, that one evangelist transcribed from another, afford strong reasons for an opposite conclusion. I will quote, for example, the account of the call of Matthew, the entertainment in his house, and the conversation occasioned by it, as given by the three evangelists.

Matthew ix. 9-17.

Mark ii. 14-22.

Luke v. 27-39.

(v. 9.) And Jesus, as he was passing thence, saw a man, called Matthew, sitting to receive the customs ; and said to him ; Come with me. And he arose and went with him.

(v. 14.) And, as he was passing along, he saw Levi, the son of Alpheus, sitting to receive the customs ; and said to him ; Come with me. And he arose and went with him.

(v. 27.) And after this, Jesus went out, and saw a tax-gatherer by the name of Levi, sitting to receive the customs ; and said to him ; Come with me. (v. 28.) And, leaving every thing, he arose and went with him.

Matthew.

(v. 10.) And while Jesus was at table in his house, lo! many tax-gatherers and sinners, who had come, were at table with Jesus and his disciples.

(v. 11.) And the Pharisees, seeing this, said to his disciples; Why does your teacher eat with these tax-gatherers and sinners?

(v. 12.) But Jesus hearing this, said to them; The well need not a physician, but the sick.

(v. 13.) But go ye, and learn what this means, *I desire goodness and not sacrifices.*

For I did not come to give an invitation to righteous men, but to sinners.

(v. 14.) Then the dis-

Mark.

(v. 15.) And while Jesus was at table in his house, many tax-gatherers and sinners also were at table with Jesus and his disciples; for there were many, who had followed him.

(v. 16.) And the Teachers of the Law and the Pharisees, seeing him eating with the tax-gatherers and sinners; said to his disciples; How is it that he is eating and drinking with these tax-gatherers and sinners?

(v. 17.) And Jesus hearing this, said to them; The well need not a physician, but the sick.

I did not come to give an invitation to righteous men, but to sinners.

(v. 18.) And the disciples of John and the Pharisees were

Luke.

(v. 29.) And Levi made a great entertainment for him in his house; and there was a great number of tax-gatherers and others, who were at table with him.

(v. 30.) But their Teachers of the Law and the Pharisees, murmured at this, saying to his disciples; Why are ye eating and drinking with these tax-gatherers and sinners?

(v. 31.) And Jesus answering, said to them; They who are in health need not a physician, but the sick.

(v. 32.) I have not come to call righteous men, but sinners to reformation.

(v. 33.) But they

CORRESPONDENCES OF THE GOSPELS. cxxvii

Matthew.	Mark.	Luke.
ciples of John came to him and said; Why, when we and the Pharisees fast often,	keeping a fast; and they came and said to him; Why, when the disciples of John and those of the Pharisees are fasting,	said to him; Why, when the disciples of John are continually fasting and making supplications, and likewise those of the Pharisees, are 'thine eating and drinking?
do not thy disciples fast?	do not thy disciples fast?	
(v. 15.) And Jesus said to them; Can the companions of the bridegroom mourn, while the bridegroom is with them?	(v. 19.) And Jesus said to them; Can the companions of the bridegroom fast, while the bridegroom is with them? As long as they have the bridegroom with them they cannot fast.	(v. 34.) But he said to them; Can ye make the companions of the bridegroom fast, while the bridegroom is with them?
But the days are coming, when the bridegroom will be taken from them; and then will they fast.	(v. 20.) But the days are coming, when the bridegroom will be taken from them; and then will they fast in that day.	(v. 35.) But the days are coming, when the bridegroom will be taken from them; then will they fast in those days.
(v. 16.) No one puts a patch of undressed cloth upon an old garment; for the piece would tear away from the garment, and a worse rent be made.	(v. 21.) No one sews a patch of undressed cloth upon an old garment; for the new piece would tear away from the old garment, and a worse rent be made.	(v. 36.) Then he spake a parable to them: No one takes a patch from a new garment to put upon an old garment; for the new garment would be cut, and the patch from the new would not match with the old.
(v. 17.) Nor do men put new wine into old	(v. 22.) And no one puts new wine into	(v. 37.) And no one puts new wine into

Matthew.	Mark.	Luke.
skins; for the skins would burst, and the wine run to waste, and the skins would be spoilt. But they put new wine into new skins, so that both may be preserved.	old skins; for the new wine would burst the skins, and the wine would run to waste, and the skins would be spoilt. But new wine must be put into new skins.	old skins; for the new wine would burst the skins, and it would run to waste, and the skins would be spoilt. (v. 38.) But new wine must be put into new skins, so that both may be preserved. (v. 39.) And no one after drinking old wine, immediately wishes for new; for he says, The old is better.

The preceding is a specimen of the accordance of meaning and language, which is found among the first three Gospels. It is elsewhere mixed with similar diversities. But a comparison of such parallel passages from the different evangelists, shows, I think, that no one of them copied from either of the others.

As in the example given, so generally in other cases of parallelism among the first three Gospels, variations of expression, omissions, and additions occur, which are not to be accounted for on the theory, that the evangelists copied one from another; because they are such as cannot be ascribed to accident, and, at the same time, such as would not have been made by design. Thus, in the specimen given, if either Mark or Luke had been copying from Matthew, it is unlikely that he would have substituted the name of Levi, by which that evangelist appears to have been known before his becoming a disciple, for the name of Matthew, by which he was commonly called afterwards, and which he himself had used in this place; — or that

Luke, if he had Mark before him, and had preferred the name of Levi, would have omitted the further designation, "the son of Alpheus." Mark, if he had been following Luke, would have retained the explicit statement of the latter, that the entertainment, at which our Lord was present, was made by Matthew; and with Matthew for his guide, he would not have changed the clear and simple expressions used by him in the tenth and eleventh verses, for his own more diffuse, and, in the original, more obscure language. Luke, it is evident, was, in the corresponding verses, neither the original nor the copyist of either. The question of the Pharisees respecting Christ's eating with tax-gatherers and sinners, is given in different terms by each of the evangelists; yet, if any one of them copied from either of the others, it does not appear what motive could have induced him to change its form. Similar remarks may be made respecting the other variations of language among the evangelists, which occur in this passage. But there are differences of another kind. The first clause of the thirteenth verse of Matthew seems to me essential to a full understanding of the meaning of Jesus.* But, whether

* The words of Matthew are these; "But Jesus hearing this, said to them; The well need not a physician, but the sick. *But go ye and learn what this means, 'I desire goodness and not sacrifices.'* For I did not come to give an invitation to righteous men, but to sinners." The words in Italics are omitted by the other evangelists. But our Saviour's answer, as given by Matthew, is, I conceive, to be thus understood: You reproach me for being with tax-gatherers and sinners; it is fitting I should be; the well need not a physician, but the sick. But do not think, that you are less morally diseased than those whom you despise. You, no more than they, perform what God requires; while you insist on ceremonies and superstitious observances, you neglect what is essential in religion and morality.

it be so or not, neither Mark nor Luke, had they been borrowing from Matthew, would have omitted it as they have done, copying, at the same time, the words which precede and follow. In the next verse (the eighteenth) of Mark, he states explicitly, that the disciples of John and the Pharisees were keeping a fast, which is not done by the other evangelists.* It is a circumstance, which throws a strong light upon their state of feeling when seeing Jesus at the same time present at an entertainment with tax-gatherers and sinners. The fact does not appear in the account of the other evangelists. But it is not probable, that if either Matthew or Luke had been transcribing from Mark's Gospel, he would have omitted this circumstance by design, or passed over it by accident. At the end of the fifteenth verse of Matthew, neither Mark nor Luke, if copying his text, would have thought it necessary to add the superfluous words, "in that day," or "in those days." Luke, in the thirty-sixth verse, borrowed from neither Matthew nor Mark, and neither borrowed from him. And

Go ye, and learn what this means, *I desire goodness, and not sacrifices*. I came to give an invitation to all to accept God's mercy; and, as regards you, as well as them, I did not come to give an invitation to righteous men, but to sinners.

* It appears from the Talmud, that the more religious Jews fasted on Mondays and Thursdays. Thus the Pharisee mentioned in Luke xviii. 12, is represented by our Saviour as saying; "I fast twice a week." Now we have before inferred from the account of Matthew (see p. cix.), that the entertainment at Matthew's house took place on Monday. This accords with Mark's account, that the disciples of John and the Pharisees *were keeping a fast* (ἦσαν νηστεύοντες.) This coincidence between the Gospels, to be ascertained only by what we learn from the Talmud, deserves remark, as one among many facts of a similar kind, which serve to establish their authenticity.

with Luke's Gospel before them, there is no likelihood, that either Matthew or Mark would have omitted the concluding words of Jesus, as given by Luke (verse 39), which suit so well to the connexion.

In order fully to estimate the force of the preceding remarks, we must recollect, that no transcriber, writing in the same style with his original, would designedly change the ideas or expressions of the latter, except for the sake of some real or fancied improvement; unless, indeed, his purpose were to conceal plagiarism, a purpose which no one will ascribe to the evangelists. But nothing, that can be supposed a real or fancied improvement, appears in the differences that have been mentioned, or in many others, that might be specified in the parallel passages of the first three Gospels. It is particularly improbable, that such changes should have been made by any one of the three evangelists, since the style and vocabulary of all are essentially the same, and, except so far as Luke may form a partial exception, they obviously had little command of language. But for some strong reason, therefore, any one of them would have copied literally the already well-known narrative, which he found before him, except, perhaps, that St. Luke, if he wrote last, might, sometimes, have retouched the style of his predecessors. Certainly no one of them would have made an unimportant addition in one place, and omitted an important passage in another; nor so varied his own account as to render it obscure and imperfect, requiring, in order to be fully understood, that the Gospel from which he copied should be consulted as a commentary upon his own. Yet, however we may arrange the order of transcription, all this must be supposed in reference to the two evangelists, who are represented as transcribers, especially if the two be Mark and Luke.

These observations are applicable to a large portion of the Gospels, but are particularly striking as regards the narrative of the closing scenes of our Saviour's life, his death, his resurrection, and the events subsequent. Such are the omissions, and differences from one another, in the accounts of the three evangelists, that, considering these alone, I cannot believe, that any one of them had seen the work of either of the others. This is a portion of the Gospels, which has been too little attended to, either by those who suppose, that the evangelists transcribed one from another, or by those who suppose, that they transcribed from common documents.

It may appear, then, that, beside the particular objections to any particular form that may be given to the supposition, that the evangelists copied one from another, the general objections to it are these. There is no reasonable principle of selection on which they can be supposed to have proceeded. They were, all of them, as preachers of Christianity, well acquainted with the transactions which it was their purpose to record; their independent knowledge of them appears in the Gospel of each; they had, therefore, no occasion to copy one from another, and it is a fact, obvious simply upon inspection, that far the greater part of each Gospel was not thus copied. And, lastly, their Gospels generally, and even those very passages on which this theory of transcription has been founded, present numerous diversities of such a character as the evangelist, whichever may be supposed the copyist, would not have made, with the text of his predecessor, or predecessors, before him as an archetype.

SECTION III.

On the Supposition, that the First Three Evangelists made Use of Common Written Documents.

THE supposition, that the first three evangelists copied one from another, has found, comparatively, but few defenders in later times, and has been superseded, in a great degree, by the supposition, that they all transcribed from common written documents. This hypothesis we have had repeated occasion to notice in the text of the present volume. I will state it, generally, as explained by Bishop Marsh, who may be considered as having improved upon Eichhorn, from whom he borrowed it. The differences between them are not such as to affect its credibility.

It is supposed, then, that there was an original narrative of the life of Christ, *an original Gospel*,* which contained, in some form or other, all those relations, that are common to our first three Gospels. This, it is thought, was receiving continual additions from its various transcribers, different in different copies. The first three evangelists are supposed each to have used a different copy as the basis of their respective Gospels. Matthew's copy, beside the original text, contained, likewise, the additional matter which he has in common with Mark alone, or with Luke alone. Mark's copy differed from this, both in wanting the matter which is common to Matthew and Luke only, and in hav-

* I use this term, borrowed from Eichhorn, for the sake of convenience and distinctness of expression. It is not employed by Bishop Marsh.

ing additional matter not found in Matthew's copy, namely, that which is common to Mark and Luke only. Luke's copy, in like manner, had certain additions, which are common to him either with Matthew or with Mark, and wanted those passages which are found only in the two last-mentioned evangelists.*

The Original Gospel, and the three modifications of it just mentioned, were all written in the Syro-Chaldee, or, as it is more popularly termed, the Hebrew language. Matthew's Gospel was originally written in the same language. But Mark and Luke wrote in Greek, and translated into that language the document which they respectively used as the basis of their Gospels. But the verbal harmony between them in that portion of matter which constituted the Original Gospel, before it had received any additions, is believed to be greater than would result from two independent translations of the same work. In order to account for it, therefore, it is supposed, that the Original Gospel, before any additions had been made to it, was translated into Greek; and that Mark and Luke each had a copy of this Greek translation, from which they occasionally derived assistance in rendering from their Hebrew document. Each, sometimes, adopted its words in the same passage, and in these passages, they agree verbally with each other.

But, beside the enlarged copy of the Original Gospel, which was in the hands of each of the evangelists, and the Greek translation of this Gospel, used by Mark and Luke,

* Bishop Marsh distinguishes between those additions, common to two of the Gospels, which were made to narratives already extant in the Original Gospel, and those additions which were made of new narratives common to two of the Gospels. But this is a distinction not important to be attended to in reference to our present purpose.

it is further supposed, that there was another document, written in Hebrew, which was used only by Matthew and Luke; the former incorporating it into his Gospel in the original language; and the latter translating it into Greek. This was a collection of precepts, parables, and discourses, which had been delivered by Christ at different times and on different occasions. The name of *Gnomologia* has been given it, with reference to its supposed character. The copies of this document used by Matthew and Luke, though generally agreeing, differed in some respects from each other. It was not arranged with any regard to chronological order. Matthew, being an apostle, is thought to have inserted the different portions of it in different parts of his Gospel, "having regard, probably, to the times and occasions when the sayings of our Saviour were delivered." * But Luke, who was not present at their delivery, did not undertake to do this. With the exception of only two portions, "both of which have internal notes of time," he inserted in his Gospel the whole collection, as he found it; and it constitutes that portion of matter which extends from chapter ix. verse 51, to chapter xviii. verse 14. But, by a license, which must, I think, be regarded as extraordinary and unjustifiable, "he gave," it is said, "to the whole the form of a narrative, in order to make it correspond with the rest of his Gospel, which was not a collection of unconnected facts, but a continued history." †

In order to explain the verbal harmony between our present Greek Gospel of Matthew, and the Gospels of Mark and Luke, it is supposed, that the translator of the former

* Marsh's Dissertation, in the second part of the third volume of his Translation of Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament, p. 401.

† Marsh's Dissertation, p. 402.

derived assistance from the two latter Gospels, and borrowed their language, in cases where there is a correspondence of matter between them and that of Matthew.

I WILL briefly recapitulate the steps in this hypothesis. The first supposition is of an Original Gospel, written in Hebrew, and receiving continual additions from various hands. This is supposed to have been used in three different forms by the first three evangelists, being in one of its forms, the basis of the work of each. Besides this document, it is supposed, that there was another, a miscellaneous collection of discourses and sayings of Jesus, likewise written in Hebrew, which was used only by Matthew and Luke. Thus, *the general correspondence of matter and language*, among all three evangelists, and between any two of the evangelists in portions peculiar to them, is thought to be accounted for. The *verbal coincidences* between Mark and Luke are explained by the supposition, that they both used a Greek translation of the Original Gospel, made before that work had received any additions; and the verbal coincidences between our present Greek Gospel of Matthew and the other two Gospels, by the supposition, that his translator used their Gospels in rendering into Greek the Hebrew original of Matthew.

In maintaining this hypothesis, the genuineness of the Gospels is asserted by Bishop Marsh; and its other most able defenders have not attempted to free it from the peculiar objections, formerly stated,* to which it is liable, if their genuineness be denied. I shall, therefore, offer some arguments in which this fact is supposed. But, I think, it will be perceived, that, distinct from these there are intrin-

* See p. 155 seqq.

sic and insuperable objections against the hypothesis, both from the positions it involves, and from its being founded upon an erroneous and imperfect view of the phenomena of the Gospels, so that it neither explains, nor is consistent with those phenomena. What the objections are, we will now consider.

I. THE imagined Original Gospel must have been a work of the highest authority. This is implied in its having been made the basis of our first three Gospels; and, as is supposed by Eichhorn and Marsh, of other Gospels of a similar character. Bishop Marsh likewise supposes, that it was "drawn up from communications made by the apostles, and, therefore, that it was not only a work of good authority, but a work which was worthy of furnishing materials to any one of the apostles, who had formed a resolution of writing a more complete history." * Eichhorn regards it as having been a work sanctioned by the apostles, and communicated by them to the first Christian missionaries, to guide the latter in their preaching. † When Bishop Marsh says, that it was a work "of good authority," and "worthy of furnishing materials for an apostle," these expressions seem inadequate to its character, if its origin, and the use which was made of it, were such as have been supposed. It must have been a work of the highest authority. Coming forth under the sanction of the apostles, and founded upon their communications, it must have commanded universal credence among believers. It cannot be, nor is it supposed, that it was a private unpubl-

* Marsh's Dissertation, p. 363. Comp. Illustration of his Hypothesis, p. 15 seqq.

† Einleit. in d. N. T. I. p. 1, seqq.; p. 162, seqq.

ed writing. It would not have been kept back from any who wished to possess it. It was translated (as is part of the hypothesis) into the Greek language; and copies of it, therefore, must have been widely circulating, wherever Christianity was spread. No satisfactory account, then, can be given, I do not say merely of the fact, *that there are no historical notices of the existence of such a work*; but of the fact, *that it has not been actually preserved, at least in its Greek translation*. It may be said, that it was so altered, and so blended with various additions, in the different copies and refashionings which were made of it, as, in this manner, to become lost as a separate work. But those additions and alterations, according to the hypothesis, were made by anonymous copyists. They were supported, therefore, by no authority publicly known and acknowledged. No one could be certain, except through private information, by whom they were made, or on what grounds. But the Original Gospel, in its primary, uncorrupted state, was a work of a very different character, carrying with it the authority of the apostles. If we should admit, that some copies of this document, containing certain additions, had been made by particular individuals for their own use; yet there can be no reasonable question, that the copies in common circulation would be conformed to the original text. To account for its loss, therefore, as a separate work, the opposite ground has been taken; it has been said, that "each of the first three Gospels contained the *whole* of this document," and that, consequently, whoever possessed any one of the former, possessed the whole of the latter in its primitive state, and could, therefore, have had no motive for procuring a separate copy of it.* This is a proposition

* Marsh's Illustration of his Hypothesis, p. 54.

which will hereafter be examined at length; but I may here answer, briefly, that the fact is not as stated. The Original Gospel does not lie imbedded, in its primitive form, in any one of the first three Gospels. We cannot strike off portions from either of them, so as to leave a work, which, when fairly exhibited, any one will pretend is the ancient document in question, or any thing very like it. After the publication of these Gospels, therefore, the Original Gospel still remained a distinct work, and a work of the highest authority, value, and curiosity. It was, at least, as much worth preserving, and as likely to be preserved, together with those three Gospels, as any one of the three, together with the other two. But no such work has been preserved; no memory of such a work can be discovered; and, therefore, there is a strong improbability, that such a work ever existed. If, for any reason, we were to imagine, that the disciples of Socrates sanctioned and circulated some history of their master, which has disappeared, and of which no mention is extant, the supposition would be less incredible. It would be difficult to conceive of any ancient work so unlikely to be lost and utterly forgotten, as an account of Christ, composed from the communications of his apostles, and published under their sanction, which had once been in common use among Christians.

II. RESPECTING the supposed additions to the Original Gospel, Bishop Marsh says, that, in process of time, as new communications from the apostles, and other eyewitnesses, brought to light additional circumstances or transactions, which had been unnoticed in the Original Gospel, those who possessed copies of it added in their manuscripts such additional circumstances and transactions; and these addi-

tions, in subsequent copies, were inserted in the text.* In order to form the documents, imagined to have been used by the evangelists, five such transcriptions of the Original Gospel, are the least number that can be supposed; and these must have been made by transcribers who did not communicate their respective additions to each other.† Eichhorn says, that it had passed through many hands before being used by the authors of our present Gospels; and that its possessors, copyists, and translators, had made additions in their respective copies, either from their personal knowledge, or from the information of credible men, of circumstances or transactions, which were omitted in those copies.‡ It is supposed in these representations, that many different enlarged copies of the Original Gospel were in common circulation, superseding the copies of it in its primitive state. But to this supposition are opposed the considerations stated in the last paragraph. Accounts, claiming the highest credit, as sanctioned by the apostles, would not have been confounded with accounts collected by anonymous transcribers, as if the latter were of equal authority with the former. A work of such character and claims as the Original Gospel, would not have been tampered with in the manner supposed. The original life of the founder of our religion, proceeding from those whom he had selected to be eyewitnesses of the truth, and circulating among their disciples, was not a work to be subjected to a series of interpolations so extraordinary as to be without parallel in literary history.§

* Dissertation, p. 366. † Ibid. p. 367.

‡ Einleit. in d. N. T. I. 172, 173.

§ Considerations of this sort, perhaps, induced Bishop Marsh to change somewhat the representation which he had given, respecting the supposed additions to the Original Gospel, in his Dissertation

III. But, quitting this general ground of objection, it may be observed, that the supposition of the continual process of fancied improvement, to which the Original Gospel was subjected, and of the care with which so many transcribers undertook to retouch and complete it, is altogether inconsistent with the genius and habits of the Jews of Palestine, among whom these transcribers must have been found. The Original Gospel is supposed to have been written in Hebrew, and the additions, in its different copies, to have been made in the same language. But the Jews of Palestine were not writers. They had no profane literature. They were acquainted with scarcely any other books than the books of the Old Testament. With the exception of these writings, they were not in the habit of relying upon books to preserve the memory of facts or doctrines. Their literature, such as it was, connected almost solely with their religion and laws, was, in great part, traditionary and oral. Now, under a strong impulse, and the action of very powerful motives, writers may appear among such a people, as did the evangelists and apostles; writers, discovering all that want of skill and facility in composition, which characterizes the Gospels; But, such being the state of letters among the Jews of Palestine, it would have been very foreign from their habits to commit to writing, in the margin of their manuscripts of the Original Gospel, ac-

on the Origin of the first three Gospels, and to propose another in one of his defences of that work. In his Dissertation, he speaks in common with Eichhorn, of those additions as having been inserted in the text of the copies used by the evangelists; in his Illustration of his Hypothesis, (p. 79,) he supposes, that they may have been only written in the margin of their copies, each of which, accordingly, would contain the same text of the original Hebrew document, surrounded with different sets of these "marginal additions."

counts of particular transactions and sayings, not mentioned in it. Being unaccustomed to use any books except those of the Old Testament, and having but an imperfect sense of the utility of books, it is not to be believed, that the possessors of that work should, at once, have become so busy about correcting and completing it in their particular copies. They never would have thought of making a record of any new fact which might have come to their knowledge, through fear that it would be forgotten by themselves, or that its memory would perish, unless put down in writing. Even among readers of the present day, different as our intellectual habits are from those of the Jews, and accustomed as we are to rely upon books and writings as the depositories of our knowledge, it is rare to make manuscript additions to a work, of new facts connected with its subject. Especially, one is not likely to record in this manner facts of common notoriety. But those narratives respecting Christ, which we find in the first three Gospels, were, without doubt, such as the apostles readily communicated, and such, therefore, as were familiarly known to their converts.

IV. LET us allow, however, that the imagined Original Gospel, with its various enlarged copies, may have existed. Still, we cannot believe, that the evangelists would, each, have made use of such an enlarged copy of it, in the manner supposed, as the basis of his work. According to the hypothesis, the additional matter in the respective documents used by them had been collected by a succession of transcribers. But the apostle Matthew would not have had recourse to such indirect and uncertain authority, for accounts of acts and discourses of our Saviour, which either he himself, or the other apostles, had seen and heard. He

would not have gone among the Christian converts to learn from them what had been communicated to them by himself and the other apostles, concerning the life of his master, so that he might collect materials for his history. To admit the hypothesis, is to admit, that he, though an eyewitness, and the companion of eyewitnesses, chose to adopt the narratives of individuals, who had received their knowledge more or less remotely from himself, and from others like himself. It is to suppose, that the information which had been derived from apostles and eyewitnesses, after passing through various channels, flowed upward to supply its source. The difficulty is essentially the same in regard to Mark and Luke, the constant companions of the apostles. They would not have adopted the writings supposed, as their main authority. They would not have had recourse to so indirect and unsatisfactory a mode of obtaining those materials for their history, which they might have received, and which, indeed, they could not but be continually receiving, at first hand, from those with whom they were intimately conversant. It serves, likewise, to aggravate the improbability of the supposition in question, that each of the first three evangelists is represented as having been content with one of the enlarged copies of the Original Gospel, when there were, at least, two other different copies, and one does not know how many more, in existence. We must believe them to have taken but little pains to procure and compare documents.

V. THE supposition, that the first three evangelists thus formed their histories, is, besides, opposed to Luke's own testimony, and to all the historical evidence, which bears upon the subject. The latter evidence is confirmed by its correspondence with what we may reasonably suppose to

have been the case. St. Luke thus speaks in the commencement of his Gospel: "Since many have undertaken to arrange a narrative of the events accomplished among us, conformably to the accounts given us by those who were eyewitnesses from the beginning, and have become ministers of the religion, I have determined also, having accurately informed myself of all things in succession from the beginning, to write to thee, most excellent Theophilus, that you may know the truth concerning the relations which you have heard." In these words, Luke recognises distinctly the accounts of the apostles as the primary authority for the history of Jesus. To those accounts, it was the purpose of all written narratives to conform. Having constant and direct access to this primary source of information, it was on this, therefore, that he relied. The composition of his own Gospel shows, that he was not satisfied with any of the narratives extant, with which he was acquainted. They, probably, contained more or less error, the accounts of the apostles having been misunderstood by the narrator. Luke, therefore, would not adopt any one of these as his main authority. When he speaks of the apostles, with whom he was conversant, as the sources of information respecting the history of Christ, and of his own diligence in collecting information, we cannot suppose, that all which he meant was, that he had obtained two of the previous documents referred to by him, which had passed through the hands of several transcribers, who had enlarged them with new matter, and that he contented himself with translating these documents, and making a few additions, and, perhaps, corrections.

We learn from St. Luke, that the written accounts of the life of Christ, which were in the possession of some Christians at the time when he wrote, were founded, directly or

indirectly, upon the oral accounts of the apostles. Without such express information, we might have concluded, beforehand, that this must have been the fact. The apostles must have been continually called upon to relate the actions and discourses of Christ; and their conversation and preaching must have afforded to one conversant with them, authentic materials for such a history as we find in any one of our first three Gospels. That such were the materials principally used by Luke, we may conclude from what has been said. That Mark thus derived his information is stated by Papias, who wrote, probably, not more than about sixty years after the evangelist. According to him, St. Mark accompanied St. Peter, who, it would appear, was not able to use the Greek language with freedom, as his interpreter; and wrote down from memory those actions and discourses of Christ, which the apostle had narrated in his preaching.* The account of Irenæus is the same: "Mark," he says, "the disciple and interpreter of Peter, delivered to us in writing what Peter had preached; and Luke, the companion of Paul, recorded the Gospel preached by him."† Clement of Alexandria,‡ and Tertullian,§ with other later fathers, make similar statements respecting the Gospels of Mark and Luke. But it is unnecessary to multiply quotations; since the fact cannot be disputed, that it is the uniform testimony of ancient writers, that the narratives contained in the first three Gospels were such as had been orally related by the apostles; and that Matthew wrote down what he had preached, and Mark and Luke what they had heard.

* See before, p. 243.

† See pp. 113, 114. ‡ See p. 124.

§ Advers. Marc. Lib. IV. c. 5.

VI. **THERE** are two aspects under which the character of the supposed Original Gospel has been presented, both equally required by the hypothesis, but irreconcilable with each other. On the one hand, it appears as a work drawn up from communications made by the apostles, sanctioned by them, circulating widely among Christians, so as very early to be translated into Greek, and forming the basis of three out of four of those histories of Christ, which alone obtained general reception among Christians as the foundation of their faith. It seems impossible, that such a work should have perished, and all memory of it have been lost. But the hypothesis equally demands, that a different view should be given of it, according to which, the writing in question was only a brief abstract of some of the principal events in Christ's ministry. It contained what the three evangelists have in common, that is, those passages of which the sense in each Gospel is equivalent. Now, however vague may be any one's notions of passages of this character (a subject to which we shall soon advert), yet none will pretend, that the matter, which may in *any* sense be called common to all three Gospels, would form a work of half the size of Mark's Gospel. Accordingly, Bishop Marsh calls the supposed document "the first sketch of a narrative of Christ's ministry,"* and says; "It must not be considered as a finished history, but as a document containing only materials for a history: and, as those materials were probably not all communicated at the same time, we must suppose, that they were not all placed in exact chronological order."† They are supposed to have been in the order in which Mark and Luke coincide, in opposition to Matthew. According to Eichhorn, it was a "rough sketch,"

* Dissertation, p. 196.

† Ibid. p. 362.

"defective," "imperfect," "unfinished"; to the text of which the briefest narratives that can be selected by comparing together the parallel passages of the first three Gospels, and those of which the clauses are least connected, approximate, most nearly.*

Now, as the former account of the book seemed to make it incredible, that such a work should ever have perished, so this last account appears to render it equally incredible, that such a work should ever have existed. According to this view of it, it must have been more like a collection of memoranda for a history, than a history itself. No reasonable purpose of a work of this kind can be imagined. It could not have been to aid the memory of the apostles and the first preachers of Christianity, and their immediate converts. The facts minuted down in it were not likely to slip from their recollection. It could not have been to convey instruction to those, who had no other or no adequate means of obtaining a knowledge of the history of Jesus. It was much too meagre for this purpose. It was in no respect adapted to such an end. It must have required a perpetual commentary to render it intelligible. Such a work must have been equally worthless to any class of readers for whom one may fancy it to have been intended.

It may be worth while to add the remark, that, if the apostles collectively had been concerned in the preparation of any history of Jesus, there is no part of it to which, we may reasonably suppose, they would have given more attention than to the narrative of the death and resurrection of their Master. In regard to these events, there was a special reason for comparing together their separate knowledge, as different circumstances had been witnessed by dif-

* Einleit. in d. N. T. I. 169 seqq., 188.

ferent individuals. But throughout that portion of the history, which follows the apprehension of Jesus, there is scarcely ground for a pretence, that the traces of a common document may be discovered.

VII. BUT, in the last place, the hypothesis in question does not correspond to, and explain, the phenomena presented by the first three Gospels. That it does correspond to them, is regarded by its defenders, as the main proof of its truth. If this proof fail, therefore, the hypothesis must fall at once, without the pressure of those objections, that have been urged against it.

We may observe, then, that, in order to render probable the existence of the supposed Original Gospel, used as a document by the first three evangelists, we should be able, in each of their Gospels, to discover certain portions, which would easily separate from the rest of the work ; and which, when arranged in order, would compose such a document as is imagined to have existed. This document, as disengaged from each of the Gospels, should agree with itself in ideas and in expression, without any other differences, than might fairly be accounted for as intentional improvements. The case should be similar in regard to those additions to this document, which were used in common by any two of the evangelists. These results are what we might expect from the use supposed of common written documents. According to the hypothesis, their language was, in great part, faithfully copied or translated ; they resembled the Gospels in their modes of conception and narration, and generally in their use of words ; and, therefore, no deviations from them would be made, except for what was esteemed, at least, a good reason. The coincidence among the first three evangelists is thought to be

such as can be accounted for only by the supposition of their having copied common written documents. But, upon this supposition, it would be unreasonable to believe, that they did not uniformly copy those documents, except where they found sufficient cause for alteration. The same may be said of the transcribers, who are imagined to have intervened between the composition of the Original Gospel and that of our first three Gospels; and to have gradually enlarged the former by their additions, till it assumed the three different forms in which it was used by the evangelists. They would not have struck off from the text of their fundamental document, a work of the highest authority, into mere wanton or unimportant variations. If such a document, therefore, had ever existed, and had been used as the basis of our first three Gospels, each of them would have contained it in something very like its original form. We should still be able to separate it from the additional matter which had gathered round it. But, as has been before said, no such restoration of the Original Gospel can be effected. No such common document, serving as a basis of each of the first three Gospels, can be discovered by a comparison of them with each other. Yet, the defenders of the hypothesis, having recognised, that the restoration of the Original Gospel is essential to the proof of its ever having existed, have spoken as if this restoration might be, and had been effected.

Eichhorn affirms, that, by comparing the first three Gospels together, "we are able, even now, to separate the earlier Life of Jesus (the Original Gospel) from all subsequent additions, and, collecting it out of those Gospels, to restore it again free from all the traditions of later times;"* and he himself undertakes its restoration. † Bishop Marsh

* Einleit. in d. N. T. I. 145. † Ibid. I. pp. 186 - 304.

says respecting Eichhorn's attempt, that "he has investigated the contents of the assumed original document as it existed in its primitive state." "The principle, which he adopts in this investigation, is the following: that all those portions which are common to all three evangelists, were originally contained in the common document." "Hence, according to Eichhorn, the original document contained the following sections, which are common to all the three evangelists." He then gives a table of the contents of forty-two sections (afterwards enlarged by Eichhorn to forty-four), in which the evangelists relate, in common, the same transactions, and adds; "These were the contents, according to Eichhorn's hypothesis, of the original document supposed to have been used by St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke. They contain a short, but well-connected representation of the principal transactions of Christ, from his baptism to his death; they are such as might be expected in the first sketch of a narrative of Christ's ministry."* This language is exceedingly vague; since, in the forty-two or forty-four sections of Eichhorn, the parallel passages of the three evangelists vary much from each other, and it cannot be determined, therefore, what Bishop Marsh meant by "portions common to all three evangelists," or what he asserts to have been the contents of the original document. Elsewhere he affirms, that "the whole of the document in its primitive state, was [is] contained in each of the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke."† Eichhorn's general notion is, that, through a comparison of the parallel passages of the first three Gospels, we may disengage a brief

* Dissertation, pp. 192-196.

† Defence of the Illustration, p. 38. See also a passage to the same effect, quoted from him before, on p. cxxxviii.

original narrative, the common basis of all; by taking only those parts of such passages as are common to all, and combining them together. But his attempt to accomplish this, if the design were not avowed, might be considered as an argument to prove its impracticability. Of this, however, no other proof is necessary than what any concordance of the Gospels may furnish. The passages of the three evangelists, which are coincident or equivalent, in that strict sense of the terms which reasoning on this subject requires, are too few, and too much broken into fragments, to serve for the construction of an Original Gospel. The fact may be considered as acknowledged by Eichhorn himself in the very commencement of his undertaking; for he says; "We are seldom able to determine as to the words, how much originally belonged to the primitive text, since we are acquainted with it only through translations;" (the Original Gospel having been written in Hebrew, while our present Gospels are in Greek). "We must almost always be content with determining which of the evangelists retains it in the purest state." * The mention of translations in this passage is one of those insertions of an irrelevant thought by which a writer confuses his conceptions, and disguises them from himself and others. What is required for the proposed restoration of the Original Gospel, is, that certain passages should be selected from each of the three Gospels, *equivalent in their direct meaning* to passages that may be selected from the other two, and capable of being put together into a regular narrative of the ministry of Jesus. If in each of the Gospels were incorporated a *correct translation* of such a narrative, this might easily be done.

But all that has been actually performed is little more than the simple operation of distinguishing the parallel pas-

* Einleit. in d. N. T. I. 188.

sages of the first three Gospels, and then arranging in a table the titles of their subjects, in the order of Mark and Luke. The Original Gospel, it is concluded, consisted of accounts of facts and discourses, related in those passages, arranged in this order. But no one will pretend, when the statement is brought distinctly to this point, that there may be found in each Gospel a series of words coincident in meaning with a similar series to be found in each of the other two, and which may, therefore, be considered as representing the text of the Original Gospel. The error has been in considering as common to the three Gospels, narratives different from each other, because they relate in common to the same events. Identity of subject has been confounded with identity of form and circumstance.

THE accounts in the first three Gospels, which relate to the same events, are in no case strictly the same. They are corresponding accounts, resembling each other more or less closely, sometimes presenting very striking coincidences; and, at other times, diverging into real or apparent discrepancies. Throughout those writings, the narratives of the same events present such variations from each other as show, that the authors of the Gospels did not respectively copy them from the same written archetype, but were independent narrators. To this fact we will now attend.

To the supposition, that any one of the first three evangelists copied from either of the others, it has been considered as a strong objection, that in this case, when we find differences in the relation of the same events, we must view them as intentional alterations, that often no purpose of such alterations can be discovered, and, consequently, it is improbable, that they would intentionally be made. But it

does not seem to have been observed, that the hypothesis of a common document is exposed equally to this objection. We can no more account for the variations of the evangelists from the text of the Original Gospel, than upon the other supposition, we can account for their variations one from another. If it be said, that the alterations in question were not made by the evangelists, but by that series of transcribers, who are imagined to have intervened between the composition of the Original Gospel and that of our first three Gospels, this is merely throwing back the difficulty, without removing it. The objection is, not that these alterations were made by any particular individuals, but that they were made at all. At the same time, if it be supposed, that those previous transcribers made wanton or unreasonable changes in the text which they were copying, the authority of their copies is still further diminished; and it becomes still more improbable, that these copies should have been used by the evangelists in the manner supposed.

It is to be observed, that it is not the importance of the changes from the text of the original document, that one or more of the evangelists must have made or adopted, which is the point to be considered; because, for important changes, a reason might exist; but that it is the trifling nature of many of these variations, which renders it improbable, that they would have been made. With these views, let us compare together the different accounts of the cure of Peter's wife's mother, and many others at Capernaum, as related by the three evangelists.

Matthew viii. 14 - 16.

Mark i. 29 - 34.

Luke iv. 38 - 41.

And Jesus, going to the house of Peter,

And immediately, upon their going out of the synagogue, they went to the house of Simon and

And leaving the synagogue he entered the house of Simon.

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Matthew.

saw his wife's mother lying sick with a fever.

And he touched her hand, and the fever left her, and she rose up and attended upon them.

And when it was evening, they brought to him many demoniacs; and he cast out the spirits with a word, and healed all those who were diseased.

Mark.

Andrew, with James and John. And Simon's wife's mother lay sick with a fever; and they immediately spoke to him about

her. And he went to her and raised her up, taking hold of her hand; and the fever immediately left her, and she attended upon them.

And when it was evening, the sun having set, they brought to him all who were diseased, and the demoniacs. And the whole city was collected about the door. And he healed many who were sick with various diseases, and cast out many demons, and did not suffer the demons to say that they knew him.

Luke.

And Simon's wife's mother was laboring under a great fever. And they entreated him for her sake.

And standing over her, he rebuked the fever, and it left her; and, rising up directly, she attended upon them.

And when the sun had set, all who had with them persons ill with various diseases, brought them to him; and he laid his hands upon every one of them, and healed them. And the demons departed from many, crying out and saying, Thou art the Son of God. And he rebuked them, and did not suffer them to say that they knew him to be the Messiah.

If we imagine an original narrative as the basis of these three accounts, it is evident, that two at least of the evangelists, or their predecessors, must have varied from it in a manner for which no satisfactory reason can be given. It will simplify our language on the subject, and the result of the argument will be the same, to speak of these variations as made by the evangelists themselves.

It is not probable, then, that Matthew, if he had found the name of Simon in a document sanctioned by the other apostles, would have altered it to Peter; or that Mark or Luke would have changed Peter to Simon. If the written account, which Luke was following, had simply said, that Peter's wife's mother was lying sick with a fever, there is no likelihood, that he would have changed the expression, so as to say, that she was "laboring under a great fever;" or, if this had been the original statement, no reason can be given why Matthew and Mark should have substituted words less strong. With a written account for their guide, neither Mark nor Luke would have thought it necessary to insert the circumstance, that her friends requested the miraculous aid of Jesus. Nor, if this had stood in the original narrative, could there have been any cause for the omission of it by Matthew. "And he touched her hand," says Matthew; "And he went to her and raised her up, taking hold of her hand," says Mark; "And standing over her, he rebuked the fever," says Luke; whichever of these may be fancied the original expression, it would be difficult to suggest a cause, why two of the evangelists changed it for another. Luke says; "And he rebuked the fever," — "and rising up directly" she attended upon them; which words are not in Matthew nor Mark; yet they are not likely to have been inserted by Luke, or to have been omitted by the other two evangelists in transcribing from the supposed document. Nor would Mark, I think, if he had been copying a previous account, have interposed his favorite word "immediately" three times, in so short a narrative.*

* The word *immediately*, occurs, according to Schmidt's Concordance, forty times in Mark's Gospel; that is, as many times as in all the other books of the New Testament.

In the account of the cures performed in the evening, Mark and Luke add circumstances not mentioned by Matthew; — respecting the crowd about the door, the exclamations of the demoniacs, and the silence imposed on them by Jesus; — but, in regard to these circumstances, there is no appearance, that the two evangelists used any common written authority. Nor is any solution to be given of their other variations in this account, from Matthew and from each other, upon the supposition, that a narrative of the supposed Original Gospel was taken by each as the basis of his own.

I have selected this example merely for its brevity. It may serve as a specimen of those appearances which run through all the parallel passages of the three evangelists, and which show, that they did not transcribe or translate from any common written document, because, upon this supposition, the passages must be regarded as presenting evident variations from the text of that document, which it is not to be believed that any copyists, and especially such copyists as the evangelists, would have made. I will give a single other specimen, without any critical remarks upon it, which, like the former, I select for its shortness.

Matthew xii. 46 – 50. Mark iii. 31 – 35. Luke viii. 19 – 21.

And while he was yet addressing the multitude, lo! his mother and kinsmen stood without, wishing to speak with him. And some one said to him, Lo! thy mother and kinsmen stand without, wishing to	Then his mother and his kinsmen came, and standing without, sent to him to call him. And the multitude were sitting round him; and some said to him, Lo! thy mother and kinsmen are without, wishing for	Then his mother and his kinsmen came to where he was, and were not able to get to him for the crowd. And this was told him by some who said, Thy mother and kinsmen stand without, desirous to see thee. But he an-
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Matthew.	Mark.	Luke.
speak with thee. But he answered him who spoke to him, Who is my mother? and who are my kinsmen? And, stretching forth his hand toward his disciples, he said, Lo! my mother and my kinsmen! For who- ever may do the will of my Father in Heav- en, is my kinsman, and my kinswoman, and my mother	thee. And he answer- ed them, Who is my mother? or my kins- men? And looking round upon those who were sitting about him, he said, Behold! my mother and my kinsmen! For whoever may do the will of God, is my kinsman, and my kinswoman, and my mother.	answered them, My mother and my kinsmen are those who hear the teach- ing of God and obey it.

“The difference of expression,” says Eichhorn, “and the identity of the train of thought, assure us that we here read three different Greek translations of the same Hebrew text.”* It is evident, that, in this remark, resemblance and general equivalence of ideas are confounded with identity. The passages present no appearances, which do not accord with the supposition, that each of the evangelists, independently of any written document, was recording, conformably to his own conception of it, a well-known transaction, that had been often orally related; but it is impossible, that their three varying accounts should have been founded upon one original written narrative, from which its transcribers and translators did not depart without some reasonable motive.

WE proceed to another consideration. The verbal coincidences between Mark and Luke are supposed to have

* Einleit. in d. N. T. I. 248.

been produced by the circumstance, that, in translating from the same Hebrew document, both evangelists derived assistance from a Greek translation of it, which had been made before the composition of their works. But the verbal coincidence between Mark and Luke is not great. It consists, for the most part, of single clauses or sentences, rarely extending unbroken through two whole sentences together. It amounts in all to less than the twelfth part of Mark's Gospel. A similar objection, therefore, to what we have just been considering, presents itself to this supposition. It requires, to render it probable, not merely more equivalence, but much more *identity* of language, than exists between the evangelists, unless we imagine them to have departed, without reason, from their common help, the former Greek translation. It represents both the evangelists as going through this Greek translation, picking out a few sentences and clauses of sentences here and there, and these, as far as we can judge, the renderings of passages that offered no peculiar difficulty, and after copying perhaps a dozen words, resuming their own language. The evangelists would not have had recourse to a translation so defective as to afford them but such scanty assistance.

I WILL mention one other characteristic of the Gospels, which seems wholly irreconcilable with the hypothesis we are considering. It is the uniform and distinguishing style of conception, narration, and language apparent in each. The Gospel of Luke, according to the hypothesis, must be a compound of materials furnished by at least five different writers, the author of the Original Gospel, the compiler who made the additions to it which Luke has in common with Matthew alone, the compiler who made the additions which he has in common with Mark alone, the author of the

imagined *Gnomologia*, and himself. I mention Luke's Gospel as the more striking case, because we have this in the original; whereas Matthew's Gospel, being extant only in a translation, there is one particular, its uniformity in the use of language, from which we cannot argue with the same confidence. But Matthew's Gospel is distinguished by other well-defined features, though, according to the hypothesis, it was composed of as various materials as those of Luke's Gospel. So also was that of Mark, only that he is not thought to have used the *Gnomologia*. But, throughout each of the Gospels, except in the account of the miraculous conception by Luke, of which I have already spoken, and in some few passages, before noticed, which lie under the suspicion of being spurious, there is no diversity of character betraying the work of different hands. The uniform texture of each Gospel shows it not to be a piece of patchwork. Each proves itself to be the production of a single writer, by discovering throughout the workings of an individual mind.

NOTWITHSTANDING, therefore, the ingenuity and labor with which the hypothesis in question has been defended, I believe the objections to which it is exposed, occur, in a more or less definite form, to almost every one who has examined it. It supposes an Original Gospel, sanctioned by the apostles; yet, had such a work existed, we cannot believe, that, even if the Hebrew original had perished, its Greek translation would have been lost, and no memory of the book remain. It supposes this book to have been treated in a manner without parallel in literary history, and wholly inconsistent with the authority which must have been ascribed to it. It implies a solicitude about the finishing and refashioning of writings, equally inconsistent with

the character and habits of the Jews of Palestine. It requires us to believe, that the evangelists copied into their histories the collections of anonymous individuals; when one of them was an eyewitness of the events which he related, and the other two were in habits of continual intercourse with those, who, like him, were the primary sources of information respecting the history of Jesus, and the business of whose lives it was to afford this information to others. It is inconsistent with the account which St. Luke gives of the manner in which he procured the materials for his Gospel, and with the historical notices which we have of the composition of the other Gospels of Matthew and Mark, notices, which, so far as they represent these Gospels as containing what the apostles had before delivered orally, are confirmed by their intrinsic probability. And it fails of its proposed object. It does not explain the phenomena of the agreement and disagreement of the first three Gospels; but, on the other hand, is irreconcilable with the appearances those Gospels present. For it supposes, that an original document was so used as the basis of the first three Gospels, that it is still preserved in each; while, in fact, no such document can be discovered. On the contrary, in the unsuccessful attempts made to restore this document, it becomes necessary to represent it as so brief, defective, and unsatisfactory, that we cannot believe such a work to have existed, because we can discern no purpose for which it could have been intended. The hypothesis implies, that the correspondences of the three Gospels may be separated from their differences by a sort of mechanical process, so that the former may afterward be brought together and form a connected whole; while, in fact, the one and the other are blended so intimately, as continually to appear together in the same narrative. In

attempting to account for the correspondences of these books with each other, it presents a solution which requires much more correspondence than exists. And, in the last place, the number of writers whom it represents as contributing materials for the Gospels, is irreconcilable with the individuality of character evident in each of them.

SECTION IV.

Proposed Explanation of the Correspondences among the First Three Gospels.

WHAT account, then, is to be given of the striking correspondences, in matter and language, which exist among the first three Gospels? I answer, that the phenomenon may, I think, be explained by the following considerations.

The discourses of the apostles and first preachers of Christianity must have consisted, in great part, of narratives concerning the life of Jesus. In calling men to receive his religion, they must have made known to them, who he was, what he had done, and what he had taught and commanded. All the information which we now derive from the first three Gospels, must have been orally communicated by them over and over again. They must have related his miracles, to show on what grounds he claimed divine authority; and the other events of his life, to illustrate his character. By far the greater part of his ministry had been passed at a distance from Jerusalem, either in Galilee or elsewhere; accounts of it had been brought to that city only by report, and had been mixed, doubtless, with many errors, through the mistakes and overheated imaginations of one class of relaters, and the bit-

ter prejudices of another. At Jerusalem the twelve apostles generally resided for some years after Christ's ascension, and it must have been one main part of their duty to present to those who were willing to listen, a true account of their Master's actions, in contradiction to such false reports as had prevailed. In teaching their disciples, they would quote his own words, as the most authoritative expression of the truths which he made known, and as affording the most satisfactory information respecting his doctrines and commands. In these words of Jesus his religion was embodied; they dwelt in the minds and hearts of his apostles; they would be continually on their lips; and, in quoting them for the instruction of their converts, they would often be led to relate the occasion on which they were uttered. But, as has been observed, agreement among any number of individuals in reporting the words of another, implies only, that they have each given his words correctly; and such correctness we might expect from the apostles and their companions, not only because they would be scrupulous to attain it, but because the memory of each might be assisted by that of all. Another cause, which must have led the apostles to narrate events in the life of their Master, was their applying to him passages in the Old Testament, which they regarded as prophetic. In doing so, they must have given an account of the facts to which they believed such passages to relate. The applications of supposed prophecies, that we find in the Gospel of Matthew, would be unintelligible without the narratives with which they are connected; and the same would equally be the case with an oral as with a written discourse.

But, in speaking of the occasions which must have continually led the apostles and first preachers of Christianity to give accounts of the ministry of Jesus, we must not

forget the intense curiosity that would be felt by all but his determined enemies, respecting the wonderful transactions of his life; and the deep interest which every true convert to his religion must have had to learn what might be known concerning him, and to be able, upon the highest authority, to separate truth from falsehood. The apostles, and other eyewitnesses of the ministry of Jesus, possessed knowledge of the greatest curiosity and interest; they were most ready to communicate it; and there can be no doubt, that they were often called upon to make such communication, or, in other words, that they often had occasion to repeat narratives of the same events, which we now find recorded in the first three Gospels.

It was required in an apostle, that he should have been a companion of Jesus during his ministry, "from the baptism of John to that day on which he was taken up"; and the ground of this requisition evidently was, that an apostle must be one who was able to state upon his own knowledge the events in the public life of his Master. Thus St. John says to those whom he addressed in his Epistle: "What took place from the beginning, what we have heard, what we have seen with our eyes, what we have beheld, and our hands have handled concerning the life-giving doctrine;—for Life has been revealed, and we saw and bear testimony, and announce to you that Eternal Life, which was with the Father, and has been revealed to us;—what we have seen and heard, we announce to you, so that you may share with us." And St. Luke, whose words may again be quoted, in commencing his Gospel, refers directly to the sources, and the only sources, from which an authentic written narrative of the life of Jesus could be derived: "Since many," he says, "have undertaken to arrange a narrative of the events accomplished among us,

conformably to the accounts given us by those who were eyewitnesses from the beginning, and have become ministers of the religion, I have determined also, having accurately informed myself of all things in succession from the beginning, to write to thee, most excellent Theophilus, that you may know the truth concerning the relations which you have heard." * Luke's own Gospel, and all the other

* Different interpreters have understood some of the expressions in this passage in different ways; but with variations which do not affect the main purpose for which I have quoted it. I have adopted that sense of the words which seems to me most probable. In the last clause, my rendering is different from any that I recollect to have seen ("that you may know the truth concerning the relations you have heard.") Most modern expositors agree in effect with the Common Version, in understanding St. Luke as meaning; "that thou mightest know the certainty of those things wherein thou hast been instructed"; that is, that thou mightest know that they are certain. But the words of Luke are, *ἵνα ἰπὶ γνήσι περὶ ὧν κατεχάρθης λόγων τὸν ἀσφάλειαν*, and I conceive *λόγων* in the genitive to depend upon *περὶ*, and not upon *ἀσφάλειαν*. The obvious meaning of St. Luke, if his words are to be thus constructed, is, that he wrote in order that Theophilus might know *τὸν ἀσφάλειαν*, "what was to be relied upon," that is, "the truth," in relation to the accounts he had heard. This meaning seems best to suit the connexion. A proper cause is assigned for the composition of an accurate history by one who had diligently inquired into the facts. While, if the object of Luke had only been to assure Theophilus of the certainty of what he had *already* heard, it may seem, that his simple affirmation would have been most to the purpose. To an unbeliever or a skeptic of those times, the mere history of Luke would have afforded no new evidence. A believer, as there is no reasonable doubt that Theophilus was, had been already convinced of the truth of Christianity; and if the term *λόγων*, is, as I conceive, to be understood in the sense of "narratives" respecting the life of Christ, St. Luke surely did not mean to vouch for the truth of all that Theophilus might have heard. Many incorrect and false accounts

compilations which he mentions, were, according to him, founded upon information derived from the apostles, and, perhaps, other preachers of the religion, who had been eye-witnesses of the ministry of Christ, that is, upon their oral narratives. This source was always open; and, from the nature of the case, any account of Christ's ministry, by a Christian, written in the apostolic age, must have been intended to embody such narratives; the narratives of those, who alone could bear personal testimony to the facts related; narratives, which, we cannot doubt, had been orally communicated many times before they were committed to writing by any one of the evangelists.

In confirmation of the supposition, that those narratives concerning Jesus, which we now find in the three Gospels, were first orally communicated by the apostles, and preserved in the memory of their disciples, it is superfluous to appeal to the custom of the Jewish Rabbis, who communicated their traditions orally to their disciples, and required that they should be committed to memory. These traditions formed an amount of matter, which, in the age of the apostles, probably exceeded, very many times, the contents of any one of the Gospels. Other historical parallels, as they are called, have been suggested. But it implies a very imperfect comprehension of the state of mind, which must have existed in the apostles and their disciples, to suppose, that their remembrance of the events in the life of Jesus, depended upon an effort of recollection. Their strongest and holiest feelings were associated with those events; the

respecting Christ must have been in circulation in the times of the apostles; accounts, which first were contradicted by their oral narratives, and afterwards by the written narratives of the evangelists; and it is, I think, a want of attention to this fact, which has prevented the words of Luke from being correctly understood.

vivid memory of them was for ever present to their minds, their spring of action by day, and their meditation by night. We must not suppose, that the narrative of events the most wonderful that man ever witnessed, and of words the most weighty that man ever heard, was taught and learnt like a school-boy's task or the traditions of the Rabbis. From the manner in which the Rabbis taught, we learn only, that the Jews were accustomed to oral instruction, and hence may more readily familiarize ourselves with the conception, that long portions of the history of Christ, or, perhaps, a general account of his ministry, were sometimes orally communicated by the apostles at once.

The business of the apostles and first teachers of Christianity was to preach Christ, to make him known. To him they constantly directed the view of their disciples. What he taught was the religion of which they were the ministers, his miracles were proofs of its divinity; his virtues were held forth by them as the example after which his followers were to form themselves. As religious instructors, they taught nothing upon their own authority. The Gospels are not now more essential to our knowledge of Christianity, than must have been their oral accounts of Jesus to the first converts.

We conclude, then, that portions of the history of Jesus, longer or shorter, were often related by the apostles; and it is evident, that the narrative at each repetition by the same individual, would become more fixed in its form, so as soon to be repeated by him with the same circumstances and the same turns of expression. Especially, would no one vary from himself in reporting the words of his Master. We have next to consider, that the apostles, generally, would adopt a uniform mode of relating the same events. The twelve apostles, who were companions of our Saviour,

resided together at Jerusalem, we know not for how long a period, certainly for several years; acting and preaching in concert. This being the case, they would confer together continually; they would be present at each other's discourses, in which the events of their Master's life were related; they would, in common, give instruction respecting his history and doctrine to new converts, especially to those who were to go forth as missionaries. From all these circumstances, their modes of narrating the same events would become assimilated to each other. Particularly would their language be the same, or nearly the same, in quoting and applying passages of the Old Testament as prophetic; and, in reciting the words of Jesus, whose very expressions they must have been desirous of retaining. But the verbal agreement between the first three Gospels is found, as we have seen, principally where the evangelists record words spoken by Christ or by others, or allege passages from the Old Testament. Elsewhere there is often much resemblance of conception and expression, but, comparatively, much less verbal coincidence.

Previously, then, to the composition of the first three Gospels, we may believe, that the narratives which they contain had assumed, in the manner explained, a form more or less definite. Matthew, an apostle, would commit to writing those narratives, which he and the other apostles had been accustomed to communicate orally. Mark and Luke, who derived their knowledge from the apostles, would record those narratives which they had heard from them. But, if the accounts of the apostles had been committed to writing by ever so many different historians, still, the written agreeing with the oral accounts, and the oral accounts agreeing with each other, all those accounts must have had a striking correspondence. But, however definite

might be the form which any oral narrative had assumed, still there would be variations of language, and minor circumstances would be omitted or inserted, as it was orally related by different individuals, or by the same individual at different times, or recorded by different writers. We should expect, therefore, to find in any histories in which these narratives were collected, such intermingled agreements and variations as appear in the first three Gospels. Thus, then, generally, may the resemblance between the first three Gospels be explained. In the oral narratives of the apostles, we find their common archetype, an archetype, from its very nature, partly fixed and partly fluctuating, and such, therefore, as is required to account at once for their coincidence and their diversity.*

* There are several remarks, which, to avoid breaking the connexion of the text, I have here thrown into a note.

1. It deserves observation, that, with the exception of the history of the last days of our Saviour's life, the accounts of the first three evangelists relate to events which took place in Galilee, or elsewhere, at a distance from Jerusalem. With this part of his ministry the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and the strangers who resorted there, being least acquainted, the apostles would be most frequently called upon to give information respecting it. How little was correctly known among the great body of the inhabitants of Jerusalem concerning the ministry of Jesus, appears incidentally from two passages in different evangelists. Upon his entry into that city, "The multitude that was with him," says John (xii. 17, 18), "bore testimony that he had called Lazarus from the tomb, and raised him from the dead. On this account, also, the multitude came out to meet him, because they heard that he had performed this miracle." His many preceding miracles, it appears, would not have drawn upon him such attention. Matthew says (xxi. 10, 11.); "As he was entering Jerusalem, the whole city was in commotion; saying, Who is he? And the multitudes" (among whom there were many, without doubt, who had followed him from Galilee,) "said, This

BUT, in order fully to explain the verbal coincidences among the three Gospels, we must take into view some other considerations. How is it, that there is an agreement

is Jesus the prophet, from Nazareth of Galilee." Thus, in the accounts of Christ's ministry in Galilee, and of some very striking discourses which he delivered during his last days in Jerusalem, we find remarkable correspondences among the first three evangelists; because these accounts were of a character to be often repeated by the apostles; while in the relation of the minor circumstances attending his crucifixion and resurrection, there is much diversity; because, however important were the main events, his crucifixion was universally known; and it was universally known, that the apostles affirmed his resurrection; and the minor circumstances attending those events were not adapted to convey any general instruction, and were, therefore, as we may suppose, little dwelt upon by the apostles. In general we may remark, that, according as what is related was adapted to take a strong hold upon the mind, and was likely to be often brought forward in the oral discourses of the apostles, the greater is the correspondence between the narratives and language of the evangelists.

2. In accounting for the resemblance among the first three Gospels, we are led to consider the difference between them and the Gospel of John. To explain it, we may observe, that this Gospel is not properly a history of the ministry of Jesus. It supposes that history, as recorded in the first three Gospels, to be already known; it is founded upon it, and supplementary to it. It relates principally to what took place at Jerusalem, where our Saviour spent but a small portion of his ministry. It consists, in great part, of connected discourses of Jesus with the unbelieving Jews, and with his apostles, of which much has special and immediate reference only to the character and circumstances of those immediately addressed. It did not, like the narrative contained in the first three Gospels, constitute that elementary instruction in the history of Jesus, which was the first want of the converts to the new religion. Like the Epistles of the apostles, it implies that this had been already received.

3. But, it may be asked, if it was a principal business of an apostle to give information concerning the public life, the actions, and

in the use of the very same Greek words throughout many passages? We will first attend to this agreement between Mark and Luke, both of whom originally wrote in the Greek language. This is to be explained by the fact, that, though the native language of the apostles was Hebrew, yet a great part of their conversation and discourses must have been in Greek. In Greek they must have ad-

the discourses of Jesus, how was St. Paul qualified for his office? I answer, that, during the first part of his ministry, St. Paul, for some years, had Barnabas for a companion, whom we find very early associated with the apostles,* and a very earnest preacher of Christ. Three years after his conversion, before he had properly assumed the office of an apostle, he was with Peter fifteen days at Jerusalem.† He travelled first with Mark, and afterwards with Luke, both historians of Christ, and had at command similar means of information to what they possessed. Though, before his conversion, an enemy of Christ, yet, being an enemy full of intelligence and zeal, it is probable, that he was then as well acquainted with his history as any one not an immediate disciple. Jesus was watched, during his ministry, by Pharisees and teachers of the Law, some of whom came for that purpose from Jerusalem to Galilee.‡ St. Paul was not likely, therefore, to be ignorant concerning his deeds and sayings at the time of his own conversion, though the whole aspect under which he regarded them was changed by that event. Full as he then was of sorrow, and veneration, and entire devotedness to the cause of Christ, and surrounded as he was by abundant means of informing himself concerning his character and history, and of correcting all his former misapprehensions respecting what he had said and done, there is nothing strange in supposing, that he availed himself of those means; nay, it would be an incredible supposition, that he did not. In his Epistles, we find repeated references to the history of Jesus as it is related in the first three Gospels. The account of the last supper of our Lord is given by him in words, the greater part of which are identical with those of Luke.

* Acts iv. 36. † Galatians i. 18. ‡ Luke v. 17.

dressed all who were not Jews; and to a large proportion even of Jews, the Hellenists, born and educated in foreign countries, the Greek was more familiar than the language of their nation. Many foreigners and Hellenists dwelt in Jerusalem, or resorted thither occasionally. The great national feasts, in particular, drew to that city Jews, who usually resided in foreign countries. A considerable portion of the early Christians in Jerusalem was composed of Hellenists; * and with Hellenists, St. Paul there disputed after his conversion. † We find mention of various synagogues in that city of foreign Jews, who associated together according to the countries from which they came; ‡ and many of the natives of Palestine were sufficiently acquainted with the Greek language to use it for the purposes of communication. With the exception of St. Luke and St. Paul, the apostles and evangelists were uneducated men; yet all the writings which they have left us, but the Gospel of Matthew, were composed in Greek. There would even have been no strangeness, it appears, in addressing a promiscuous multitude at Jerusalem in the Greek language; for, upon the occasion of the tumult at the apprehension of St. Paul in that city, we are only told, that he was heard with the more attention, because he spoke in Hebrew. § As, therefore, the apostles wrote in Greek, so we may reasonably believe, that, while residing together in Jerusalem, they often taught in Greek, in the presence of each other; and that thus their expressions in this language, as well as in the Hebrew, became assimilated. We may, in this manner, explain whatever verbal agreement exists between St. Mark and St. Luke; especially as it is principally found in passages in which it was particularly to be expected, in

* Acts vi. 1, seqq. † Acts ix. 29. ‡ Acts vi. 9. § Acts xxii. 2.

reports of the words of our Saviour and others, and in quotations from the Old Testament. Their whole verbal coincidence in narrative does not, I believe, exceed the amount of more than six or eight verses of average length.

The Gospel of Matthew, having been originally written in Hebrew, was probably translated into Greek some time about the close of the first century. The verbal coincidences of its translation with the Gospels of Mark and Luke, admit of one, and, I think, only one satisfactory solution. The original of Matthew agreed with them essentially in many narratives and many sayings and discourses of Christ. These, or portions of these, were the same, except their expression in different languages, and the manner of their expression in the Greek language had been fixed by the Greek Gospels of Mark and Luke. But, these Gospels being known to the translator of Matthew, when his original corresponded with them sufficiently, he was led to adopt their expressions.*

But there is, further, a remarkable phenomenon in the verbal coincidences between the Greek Gospel of Matthew and the Gospels of Mark and Luke, which shows that the translator of Matthew used those Gospels in a particular manner. Throughout the matter *common to all three Gospels*, his rendering is, with very trifling exceptions, never† coincident with the words of Luke, except in pas-

* The credit of this explanation, one of the most important of all that have been given of the phenomena of correspondence among the Gospels, belongs to Bishop Marsh, to whom, likewise, we are indebted for observing that peculiar circumstance attending the verbal coincidences of the Greek Gospel of Matthew with the Gospels of Mark and Luke, also mentioned above.

† Bishop Marsh says *never*; but he has himself pointed out one slight exception (see p. 231 of his Dissertation), and there are

sages where there was a previous verbal coincidence between Luke and Mark, while in the matter common only to Matthew and Luke, he often adopts the words of the latter. The obvious solution of this fact is, that the translator, in his renderings, did not rely merely upon his general recollection of the phraseology of Mark and Luke, but wrote with their Gospels open before him; and that, finding the correspondence between the language of his original and that of Mark much greater than between it and that of Luke, he used the Gospel of Mark alone so far as it contained the same matter, and had recourse to that of Luke only when Mark failed him. Thus, in the matter common to all three, he agrees with Luke only accidentally, that is, where there was a previous agreement between Luke and Mark.

SOME important inferences follow from the facts that have been stated. Supposing Matthew to have written in Hebrew, the verbal agreement of our present Greek Gospel with the Gospels of Mark and Luke, characterized as it is, by the extraordinary appearances just mentioned, admits of no plausible explanation, except on the supposition, that his translator used the Gospels of Mark and Luke. It proves the existence of these Gospels before the very early period when the Greek translation of Matthew was made.

It follows, likewise, that Matthew did write in Hebrew; since, if we suppose him to have written in Greek, no account can be given of the fact, that in matter common to all three Gospels, he does not agree verbally with Luke, except where Luke agrees verbally with Mark, while his verbal coincidences with Luke are elsewhere so frequent.

others, but so trivial as not to affect the inference from the general fact.

It may be added, that a strong presumption arises against the notion, that the Gospels have been swelled to their present size by the additions of copyists; for, the remarkable peculiarity in the verbal relation of our Gospel of Matthew to the Gospels of Mark and Luke is such as could hardly fail to be disturbed by such interpolations.*

* Three other phenomena, not obvious at first view, Bishop Marsh believes himself to have observed.

1. One is, that there is a much greater *proportional* coincidence of words between Matthew and Luke, in the parts of their Gospels common to them alone, than there is in those parts which are common to all three evangelists. I doubt whether this be the fact; but if it be, it is accounted for, as he accounts for it, by the supposition mentioned in the text, that the translator used Luke's Gospel only when that of Mark failed him.

It is to be remarked, that, in speaking of matter common to all three, or to two of the evangelists, the expression may be used in a looser or stricter sense. In a looser sense, it may be applied to what are called parallel passages in the Gospels, or those passages which relate to the same subject. In a stricter sense, it denotes passages of which the meaning is the same, being expressed in the same, or synonymous or equivalent words. In reference to the present subject, the term, *common matter*, must be taken in the stricter sense, as only passages in Matthew's original, of which the meaning was the same with passages in Mark or Luke, could be correctly translated by the words of those evangelists.

2. Another is, that in the portions of Matthew's Gospel which "occupy different places" from those of the corresponding portions of Mark's Gospel, there is no verbal coincidence between them. I suppose few will assent to his explanation of this fact, which, indeed, requires no other solution, than that in those parts of Matthew's Gospel, as in many other parts, the original did not admit of being rendered into the words of Mark.

3. The last is, that, in the portions common only to Mark and Luke, there are but two instances of verbal agreement between them, and, consequently, that their verbal agreement is much less in

ONE phenomenon in the Gospels still remains to be noticed. It is the agreement of Mark and Luke in their chronological misarrangement of some of the events which the first three evangelists relate in common. On the hypothesis of an Original Gospel, it is supposed, that this misarrangement existed in that Gospel, and was copied from it by Mark and Luke, who were themselves ignorant of the true order of events, and corrected by Matthew, who, as an apostle, was better informed. But this is only removing one difficulty by creating another; for it would be strange, that a misarrangement, which any apostle might have corrected, should exist in a work prepared under the direction of the apostles, and sanctioned by them, especially in a work so brief as to seem rather intended for a memorandum of the chronological series of events in Christ's ministry than for any other purpose. The explanation that has been proposed, of the agreement among the Gospels, in the character of their narratives and their use of language, involves no solution of this difficulty. Admitting the truth of this explanation, the misarrangement in question becomes a separate and independent, though not very important, problem, requiring a solution of its own. But, in our ignorance respecting all but the leading events of the apostolic age, whatever cause for it we may assign must be only conjectural.

One solution, that has occurred to me, is immediately connected with the account which has been given of the origin of the agreement among the Gospels; it is, that the correspondence in the arrangement of Mark and Luke had

this portion, than in that which is common to all three evangelists. But, as has been observed by others, Bishop Marsh is in error. The instances of verbal coincidence, instead of two, are eight; so that there is no remarkable appearance to be explained.

its source in the oral preaching and discourses of the apostles. It is not probable, that the apostles often, if ever, undertook to recite in one discourse, or in a connected series of discourses, all the transactions of the ministry of Jesus, related by either of the first three evangelists. According to the particular occasion presented, or the special object which they had in view, they would group together events, sayings, and discourses, particularly adapted to their purpose. They would class their accounts of their Master, not narrate them chronologically. To this mode of teaching we may, perhaps, look as the occasion of the agreement between Mark and Luke in the displacing of some events, and as the occasion, likewise, of the general want of chronological arrangement in Luke, and of the existence of something of a systematical, founded upon a chronological arrangement, in Matthew.

This general solution may be accepted as probable, whether we can or cannot discover any special causes which might have affected the arrangement of those particular events to which Mark and Luke agree in giving a place different from that assigned to them by Matthew. It may, therefore, be scarcely worth while to enter into the inquiry, whether any such causes can be conjectured. Yet it seems to me that they may be, and, as the subject will occupy but little space, I will venture to suggest them.

The most important instance of misarrangement in which Mark and Luke both differ from Matthew, is in the place which they assign to the voyage to Gennesaret, with the miracles accompanying and following it.* They record these events as having taken place immediately after the delivery of the parable of the sower, and some other strik-

* See p. cix. seqq.

ing parables and sayings of Jesus. These parables and sayings are of a general character, relating to the reception of the new religion, to the importance of listening to its truth, to its future rapid growth, and to the blessedness of its disciples. They are of the kind that might be repeated, by the apostles and first preachers of Christianity, to an audience which had collected to listen and to inquire; but, many of whom had not yet professed themselves Christians. After having, in the words of their Master, warned such an audience, that the seed might fall on good ground or bad; that they should give heed to what they heard; that the religion, which was but in its beginning, was, through the power of God, to extend itself widely; that to every one who had, more should be given; and that the disciples of Jesus were to him as his dearest relatives,* it would be natural to mention some of those displays of divine power upon which this new teacher founded his claims to divine authority; and, perhaps, no more striking series of miracles could have been selected, than his commanding the winds and waves to be still, his giving sanity to a raging demoniac under circumstances so extraordinary, the cure of a woman long diseased by her merely touching his garment, and his restoring life to the daughter of Jairus in a manner so public, in the principal city of Galilee. It is thus, perhaps, that we may explain, how the relation of some of the most remarkable miracles of Jesus came to be connected with the recital of some of his parables and sayings, in which he set before men the importance of listening to the truths which he taught. They were, in consequence, thus connected by Mark and Luke; and the mistake into which Mark has particularly fallen, of supposing that the voyage

* Mark iv. 1 - 32. Luke viii. 4 - 21.

to Gennesaret immediately followed the delivery of those parables * was facilitated by the circumstance, that they were actually delivered from a vessel on the lake near the shore at Capernaum, and that Jesus immediately after left that city. †

We pass to another of the chronological discrepancies between the evangelists. Matthew relates, that Jesus, previously to his entering Capernaum on a certain Sabbath, cured a leper; while Mark and Luke relate this cure as having been performed when Jesus had left Capernaum, ‡ after the Sabbath just mentioned, upon which day he appears, from all the evangelists, first to have publicly preached in that city. Perhaps this disagreement may be thus explained. As Jesus, during his ministry in Galilee, fixed on Capernaum as his chief place of residence, setting out on his journeys from it, and returning to it, we may suppose the apostles to have been accustomed to begin some short narrative of his ministry with the mention of this fact, and an account of his first appearance in Capernaum as a public teacher. No particular miracle, except this cure of a leper, is related by either of the first three evangelists as having been performed by Jesus before that event; and this miracle is related by Matthew as taking place on the morning of the same day. As, then, a brief oral account of Christ's preaching in Galilee would naturally commence with the mention of Capernaum as his chief place of residence, and as this would lead to an account of the first day of his public ministry spent in that city, the miracle of the cure of the leper, which preceded his entrance into it, must either have been passed over in silence, or introduced subsequently into the narrative. I suppose the latter course to

* See p. cxix.

† Matthew xiii. 1, 53.

‡ See p. cviii.

have been adopted, on account of its being a miracle that excited particular attention, and to which particular importance had been attached ; as appears from its being related circumstantially by all three of the evangelists, and from the circumstance, that Mark and Luke represent it as a special cause why great multitudes flocked to Jesus. The particular impression, which this miracle produced, may be ascribed to its probably being the first, or one of the first, that Jesus performed in Capernaum or its immediate neighbourhood, and the first, therefore, which most of the spectators of it had witnessed ; to the horror with which leprosy was regarded among the Jews ; to the confidence manifested by Jesus in putting his hand upon the infectious sufferer ; to the incurable state of the disease by natural means ; for he " was full of leprosy " ; * and to the circumstance of our Saviour's sending the man to the priests, who were already his enemies, that they might certify, in effect, that a miracle had been performed.

In the only remaining case of any importance, in which Mark and Luke agree together in differing from the arrangement of Matthew, the application of the general solution that has been proposed, is obvious. According to this, narratives bearing upon the same point would be brought together in the oral discourses of the apostles. Now there are two accounts, one relating to the disciples of Jesus plucking ears of grain on the Sabbath, and the other to the miraculous cure of a man with a withered hand, likewise on the Sabbath, which stand in immediate connexion in all three evangelists. But, by Mark and Luke, an earlier period is assigned to these events than by Matthew. † They record them as having taken place immediately after the

* Luke v. 12. † See p. cxiii.

conversation with the disciples of John and the Pharisees concerning fasting, which occurred in Capernaum. The two narratives were, I believe, brought into connexion with this account of our Saviour's discourse concerning fasting, from the circumstance, that all three relations bear directly upon the same subject, the worthless character of the ceremonial and superstitious observances of the Jews. In the one case Jesus gave them to understand his estimate of their stated weekly fasts, and, in the other, of their bigotry about the keeping of the Sabbath.

Thus the phenomenon of the misarrangement of events by Mark and Luke, in opposition to Matthew, may be accounted for. But another solution of it may likewise be given. Among the narratives relating to Jesus mentioned by Luke in the beginning of his Gospel, there may have been one which had obtained more credit and a wider circulation than any other. Now, without supposing Mark or Luke to have drawn their narratives from it, or to have relied upon it as an authority for individual facts, or to have used its language, except so far as it coincided with forms of expression already familiar to them, they still may both have used it as a guide in respect to the succession of those events, with the true order of which, it appears, that they both were unacquainted. It is to be observed, that it is only their coincidence with each other, that presents any difficulty. The misarrangement in any one narrative, which they may be supposed to have used in common, requires no particular explanation.

To return, then, to our general position, we suppose, that the correspondences between the first three Gospels are to be explained by the fact, that the oral narratives of the

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apostles were their common archetype. Upon the supposition, that those Gospels are genuine, it may be worth while to observe how little is assumed in coming to this conclusion, of which there can be any reasonable doubt. A great part of the oral discourses of the apostles must have been historical ; for the acts and words of Jesus were the foundation of all that they taught, and the first object of the faith of their converts. And, when one of their number and two of their constant companions committed to writing accounts of their common Master, it could not be otherwise than that these written accounts should strikingly correspond with those which had been orally delivered, and, consequently, with each other.

SECTION V.

Concluding Remarks.

THE appearances which the first three Gospels present, when compared together, are adapted to excite our curiosity and interest, because they are of so remarkable a character as to imply that some extraordinary cause must have operated to produce them ; and that the discovery of this cause will throw light on the early history of Christianity. Let us see, then, what, if we have reasoned correctly, may be inferred from the preceding investigation.

THE conclusion, that no one of the first three evangelists copied from either of the other two, is important, as showing that their Gospels afford three distinct sources of information concerning the life of Jesus. The evangelists, therefore, in their striking correspondence in the representa-

tions of his character, miracles, and doctrines, must be considered as strongly confirming each other's testimony. Nothing but reality, nothing but the fact, that Jesus had acted and taught as they represent, would have stamped his character and story so definitely and vividly upon the minds of individuals ignorant of each other's writings, and enabled them to give narratives, each so consistent with itself, and all so accordant with one another. A fictitious story of an imaginary character would have preserved no uniform type. It would have varied in its aspect according to the different temperament and talents, the conceptions and purposes, of its various narrators. Nothing could have given such fixedness to the accounts of Jesus, if untrue, but a concerted, steady purpose of deception among the whole body of the first preachers of Christianity, maintained by a rigid supervision, and exercised upon hearers who had no means of confuting the falsehood. But on such a supposition it would be useless to remark; and we may proceed to observe, that if the notion, that one evangelist copied from another be given up, then the accordance among the first three Gospels proves them all to have been written at an early period, when the sources of authentic information were yet fully accessible, and before any interval had elapsed, during which the thousand exaggerations, perversions, and fables, to which the wonderful history of Jesus was particularly exposed, had had time to flow in, and change its character as it might appear in different narratives.

If the evangelists did not copy one from another, it follows, that the first three Gospels must all have been written about the same period; since, if one had preceded another by any considerable length of time, it cannot be supposed that the author of the later Gospel would have been unac-

quainted with the work of his predecessor, or would have neglected to make use of it; especially when we take into view, that its reputation must have been well established among Christians. Whatever antiquity, therefore, we can show to belong to one of the first three Gospels, the same, or nearly the same we may ascribe to the other two. Now Luke, in the beginning of the Acts of the Apostles, speaks of his Gospel in terms which imply, that this work had been completed but a little while before; and, in the Acts, he brings down the history to the end of the second year of Paul's residence at Rome, which was some time after the sixtieth year of our era. We may conclude, therefore, that the first three Gospels were written not long before or after the year 60. According to the remarks formerly made respecting the Gospel of Mark,* it must have appeared about the year 65, when St. Peter is supposed to have suffered martyrdom at Rome.

AGAIN, the Gospel of Matthew was written in Hebrew; and the present Greek translation of it was extant very early in the second century. But, before this time, the Gospels of Mark and Luke were in existence, and, probably, in extensive circulation; for, we cannot account for the remarkable coincidences of language between our Greek translation of Matthew and those Gospels, but by the supposition, that the translator often borrowed their very words when suitable to his purpose.

I HAVE endeavoured to show, that the evangelists neither copied one from another, nor from common written documents, such as have been imagined. But, if the supposi-

* See p. lxxviii.

tion of an Original Gospel, receiving constant additions and alterations from successive transcribers, be unfounded, the notion connected with it of the corruption of our present Gospels by similar additions and alterations, loses all appearance of probability. The former supposition has served to introduce the latter, has been blended with it, and has been regarded as affording the chief evidence of its truth. But, the whole theory concerning an Original Gospel falling to the ground, the notion of any such corruption of our present Gospels, as has been supposed, remains with scarcely a show of support.

WITH that theory is likewise connected the supposition, that other more ancient gospels were in common use among Christians after the apostolic age, and before the late period, when, it is pretended, that our present Gospels first came into general use. These more ancient gospels, it may be recollected, are imagined to have been, in common with our first three Gospels, derived from the Original Gospel; and all the books of this class are supposed to have agreed with and differed from each other in much the same manner as do now the three Gospels which alone remain extant. As there was nothing, according to the theory, to stop this process of refashioning the Original Gospel, and the consequent multiplication of new gospels more or less varying from each other, till about the close of the second century, when, it is admitted, that our present Gospels had assumed nearly the form they now possess, and had obtained general reception, it follows, that many different compilations must have been in common use before. The inference, considered in its various other bearings, is incredible; but, if the theory of an Original Gospel be false, no compilations of the sort described could have existed.

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A different ground, it is true, may be taken; the notion, that those earlier gospels descended, in common with our own, from an Original Gospel, may be abandoned, and it may still be maintained, that there were histories of Christ, such, for instance, as those mentioned in the introduction to Luke's Gospel, not only prior to our present Gospels, but in common use among Christians after the apostolic age, and during a great part of the second century. The supposition of gospels in common use before those which we now possess, is thus presented in its simplest form, unembarrassed with any hypothesis respecting the mode of their formation. I shall here view it in reference only to the investigation in which we have been engaged. It involves the proposition, that our present Gospels, about the end of the second century, took the place of other gospels, which had before been regarded as of authority. But this is a proposition, which cannot be made plausible, except on the theory of an Original Gospel, from which our present Gospels and those other gospels were equally derived. It is only by representing the supposed earlier gospels as works of the same character with those now extant, derived in a similar manner from the same source, so that all were but refashionings of the same original document, or documents, that any plausibility can be given to the supposition, that our present Gospels, on the ground of their being more complete works of the same class, superseded those earlier narratives, which are imagined to have been comparatively imperfect. But, when it is agreed, that those more ancient gospels, upon the supposition that any such were in common use during the second century, were not branches, growing with our present Gospels from a common stock, an Original Gospel, but were distinct works, permanent in their form, having each, if I may so speak,

a proper individuality, then we perceive at once, that books, which, since the apostolic age, had been in common use among Christians as authentic histories of their Master, could not have been displaced and annihilated by a new set of books, introduced about the end of the second century. It would be as easy to believe, that a new growth might spring up under a forest in full vigor, and overshadow and choke the trees, which, for more than a century, had been taking root in the soil.

PASSING on to another consideration, we may observe, that the view we have taken of the origin of the correspondences among the first three Gospels is important as regards the explanation of those Gospels, particularly that of Luke. But this is a subject which cannot be so briefly developed as those on which we have already touched.

The apostles, familiar as they were with the words of their Master, and continually using them in their discourses, would often quote them separate from their original connexion. They would blend together those uttered at different times in relation to the same subject; and they would, likewise, naturally apply to new occasions his striking expressions and figurative language, so as sometimes to divert his words, more or less, from their primitive meaning, or, at least, their primary reference. But these characteristics of their preaching could not but produce an effect upon works bearing such a relation to it as we suppose the three Gospels to have done.

Thus, in Matthew's Gospel we find, I believe, what may be called a systematic, though quite natural arrangement, connected with his general regard to chronological order. When a striking occasion presented itself, he, apparently, brought together sayings of Jesus, similar in their general

character, or bearing upon the same point, though uttered at different times. Thus, to the discourse actually delivered by our Saviour on the Mount, he has probably added some things of a similar tenor, since we find in it passages, which are elsewhere reported as having been called forth by some particular occasion. The directions to his apostles immediately after their appointment, the discourse consisting of parables, and the denunciations against the Pharisees, may all have received similar additions. And the prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem and the coming of the Son of Man, as given by Matthew, appears, from a comparison with Luke, to be a compilation of several discourses. But, with, perhaps, some very few exceptions, there is no ground for supposing, that Matthew, in thus arranging the words of Jesus, has presented them under so different an aspect as to change their meaning.

But, in turning to Luke's Gospel, other appearances present themselves, which we will now consider.

In the first place, Luke has sometimes, I think, given the words of Jesus in such a connexion, that they have a meaning which he did not express, though it be one which he might have expressed. The proof of this must be drawn principally from a comparison of Luke's Gospel with that of Matthew, though Mark may afford occasional assistance. I will give an example.

According to Matthew, Jesus, in forewarning his apostles of the persecution which they would endure from the enemies of his religion, tells them that in this they would be like him, that their treatment would be similar to his own, and charges them not to be deterred by it from proclaiming the truths which he had taught them. He says (x. 26, 27) :

"Fear them not, then. For there is nothing covered, which is not to be unveiled, nor any thing secret which is

not to be made known. "What I tell you in darkness, speak in the light; and what is whispered in your ear, proclaim on the house-tops. And fear not those who may kill the body, but cannot kill the soul; rather fear him who can destroy both soul and body in hell."

The passage goes on with the words; "Are not two sparrows sold for a penny?" and those that follow.

Here, when it is said; "For there is nothing covered which is not to be unveiled;" the meaning is, that there were no secrets in his religion. It was to be fully proclaimed. Nothing was to be kept concealed through fear of men. Thus Mark, after relating the parable of the sower and its explanation to the disciples, represents our Lord as saying; * "Is a lamp brought to be put under a measure or a couch, and not to be set upon its stand. Nothing is hidden but that it may be made known, nor was any thing concealed but that it might be brought to light;" which words are, I think, thus to be understood: I have not come to keep back the truths of religion, but to reveal them. There is nothing in my discourses intended to hide them, there was nothing intended to conceal them in the parable you have just heard; on the contrary, my modes of speaking are adopted, because they are most likely effectually to impress these truths upon the minds of such hearers as I address.

Luke has one passage† similar to the last. But in another place he ascribes these words to Jesus (xii. 1-5):

"He said to his disciples; Above all things beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy. For every thing covered shall be laid open, and every thing concealed made known. What ye have spoken in darkness will be heard in light, and what ye have whispered in closets proclaimed upon house-tops.

* Mark iv. 21, 22. † Luke viii. 16-18.

"But I say to you, my friends, be not afraid of those who kill the body, and after this can do nothing more; but I will instruct you whom to fear; fear him, who, after having killed, hath power to cast into hell."

The passage continues, like that in Matthew; "Are not five sparrows sold for two pennies?" &c.

The first part of this passage, it is evident from the turns of expression, and from its connexion with what follows, was intended to be a report of the same words of Jesus which are given by Matthew. There seems no ground for doubt, that their true sense and proper bearing appears in Matthew; but, if this be so, their meaning was misapprehended by Luke. This may have arisen from the circumstance, that these striking words had, previously to the composition of his Gospel, been sometimes separated from their connexion, and applied to the subject of hypocrisy, to which they so well admit of being accommodated.

The following is another example of the same kind.

In Matthew, we find these words in the Sermon on the Mount.*

"Therefore, if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there remember that thy brother has a charge against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go away; first reconcile thy brother to thee, and then come and offer thy gift. Show thy good will toward him who has this charge against thee, † quickly, whilst thou art in the way with him; ‡ lest

* Matthew v. 23-26.

† The word translated "adversary," in the Common Version, properly means adversary in a suit at law, and the person here intended by the term is the same as "the brother who has a charge against one."

‡ The conception appears to be of the person who has injured his brother, meeting him in the public way, as he himself, having left

he bring thee before the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison. Truly, I say to thee, thou wilt not come out thence, till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing."

This is the conclusion of a passage in which our Saviour warns his followers, in the most solemn manner, against being angry without cause, and expressing ill-will to others even by injurious language. The words which immediately precede are these; "Whoever shall call his brother a reprobate shall be punishable by the fire of hell." It was common among the Jews to represent a sin or an injury under the figure of a debt, and the whole passage, therefore, is closely connected. He who has injured his brother is directed not even to worship God, till he has effected a reconciliation. He is to show his good will toward him quickly, lest he should be called to suffer the full punishment of his offence.

In Luke, the last part of the passage under consideration, appears in quite another connexion, and with a different meaning.*

"Hypocrites! Ye can judge correctly of the appearances of the earth and sky; how is it that ye do not judge correctly of the present time? Why, even from yourselves, do you not decide on what is right. For, as thou art going with thy adversary to the magistrate, strive on the way that he may let thee go free, lest he drag thee before the judge, and the judge deliver thee over to the officer, and the officer

the altar, is seeking him. The words, however, may be understood as they are by Luke; "Whilst thou art on the way with him," that is, to the judge; the literal meaning being, "before thou art called to account for thy sin against him."

* Luke xii. 56 - 59.

cast thee into prison. I tell thee, that thou shalt not come out thence till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing."

Here our Saviour is represented as reproaching the bigoted Jews for their blindness to the character of the times, by which is meant to those proofs of a divine interposition, that his ministry was continually affording. Even if these proofs were less striking, they might judge from themselves what it was right for them to do; which was to secure the favor of God, and to obtain from him pardon of their sins by reformation. Otherwise, they would be acting as one who should make no effort to propitiate his creditor (as he might do); and who, in consequence, should be condemned to imprisonment till the full amount of his debt was paid; that is, they would remain exposed to the full punishment of their sins. The figurative language here used is illustrated by that of the parable* concerning the servant, to whom his master first forgave a debt, and afterward enforced its payment, on account of the cruelty of that servant toward one of his fellows. "And his master, being angry with him, delivered him to the executioners of the law till he should pay all that he owed."

It is true, that Jesus may have used the same, or similar words and figures, in different senses on different occasions. But, as regards this passage in Luke, there is not merely the fact, that the words are found in Matthew with another connexion and meaning; but the obscurity of the passage itself, the want of obvious adaptation of one part to another, and the difficulty in discovering the relations of the ideas, serve to show, that expressions have been brought together which were not originally connected.

St. Luke's Gospel presents cases of another kind, in

* Matthew xviii. 23 - 35.

which, though the meaning of the words of our Saviour is not changed essentially, or, perhaps, not at all, yet, through some leading association in the mind of the evangelist, they are brought together in a new connexion, and applied to a subject to which they did not primarily relate. Thus, after the appointment of the apostles, Matthew represents their Master as giving them directions appropriate to their peculiar duties. For these, Luke has substituted a series of more general declarations and precepts, taken principally from the Sermon on the Mount. Yet it will be perceived by one, who reads his collection attentively, that he had, throughout, the peculiar case of the apostles in his mind, and regarded the words which he has given as specifically referring to them. In this respect, the discourse has the character which is shown in the first words of it, as compared with those in Matthew. Instead of "Blessed are the poor in spirit," Luke gives, as a direct address to the apostles, "Blessed are ye poor."

From inattention to this circumstance, there has been supposed to be a want of connexion in the discourse, which does not appear when it is viewed under its proper aspect. This may be illustrated in that portion of it which has been regarded as least coherent.

After inculcating virtues, which were peculiarly required in the apostles, love of enemies, irrisistance to injury, disregard of their private rights, universal benevolence and kindness, freedom from hasty judgment, and the doing good to others in full measure, the discourse thus proceeds to enforce the necessity of their rightly apprehending and fully performing their own duty in order to qualify them to be teachers of others.*

* Luke vi. 39 - 45.

"Then he spoke to them in a figure; Can the blind lead the blind? Will they not both fall into a ditch? * A disciple is not above his teacher, but every one properly prepared will be as his teacher. † Why dost thou look at the straw in thy brother's eye, and not consider the beam in thine own eye? Or how canst thou say to thy brother, Brother, let me take out the straw which is in thine eye, whilst thou perceivest not the beam which is in thine own eye? Hypocrite! first put the beam out of thine own eye, and then thou wilt see clearly to take the straw out of thy brother's eye. ‡ No good tree produces bad fruit, nor does a bad tree produce good fruit. For every tree is known by its fruit. Men do not gather figs from thorns, nor grapes from a bramble. § The good man, out of the good storehouse of his mind, produces what is good; and the bad man, out of the bad storehouse of his mind, produces what is bad; for the mouth speaks from the fulness of the mind." ||

These sayings are all connected together and connected with the rest of the discourse, as all relating to the character required in a moral and religious teacher. That the tone which runs through them is not altogether what we might expect in an address of Jesus to his apostles, is to be accounted for by the fact, that their original reference was

* See Matthew xv. 14, whence it appears that this language was used by Jesus concerning the *false teaching* of the Pharisees.

† Comp. Matthew x. 24, John xiii. 16, and xv. 20.

‡ Comp. Matthew vii. 3-5.

§ See Matthew vii. 16-18, where this figurative language is connected with the direction to "beware of *false teachers*;" and Matthew xii. 33, where Jesus demands that the test here given should be applied to his own teaching and character.

|| Comp. Matthew xii. 34, 35.

different from what is here assigned them. Their application, likewise, is to be conceived of as hypothetical, not direct; they are, in great part, pointed against faults of character, which the apostles were to avoid, not which they were supposed to have.

With one exception, these sayings, though their reference is changed, retain their original meaning. The exception to which I refer is in the words; "A disciple is not above his teacher; but every one properly prepared will be as his teacher;" the meaning of which, in their present connexion is, that he will be as his teacher in ability to communicate instruction; but this is not the sense of the corresponding passages of Matthew and John, which have been noted in the margin. There the meaning is, that the apostles must not expect to be better treated than their Master, and must be as ready to humble themselves as he was.

Occasionally, St. Luke, after giving the words of our Saviour on some particular occasion, seems to have subjoined other words, uttered by him at a different time, as a sort of commentary on what he then said, or on the incident related, without intending that the latter words should be conjoined with the preceding as forming one discourse, but also without sufficiently discriminating them; so that a degree of confusion and obscurity is produced.

Thus, the parable of the dishonest steward * is concluded with exhortations to the proper use of riches, ending with the declaration, "Ye cannot be servants of God and of Mammon." After which, the narrative of Luke thus proceeds: †

"And the Pharisees, who were lovers of money, heard all this, and scoffed at him. And he said to them, Ye

* Luke xvi. 1 - 13. † Luke xvi. 14 - 18.

make yourselves appear righteous in the sight of men, but God knows your hearts. For what is highly exalted among men is an abomination before God.

"The Law and the Prophets were till John. Since then the kingdom of God has been announced, and every one is forcing into it. But heaven and earth may pass away more easily than one tittle fall from the law.

"Whoever puts away his wife and marries another, commits adultery; and he who marries her who was put away, commits adultery."

After this follows the parable of Dives and Lazarus.

Here, at first view, no connexion appears; but the train of thought admits of an explanation upon the principle just stated.

St. Luke, having recorded the declaration of Jesus, that the Pharisees, who were highly exalted among men, were an abomination before God, his thoughts turned to that part of their character on which they particularly prided themselves, their strict observance of the Law, that is, the ceremonies and rites of the Law; and this led him to insert those words of his Master, which announced that these ceremonies and rites were abolished by Christianity, that they were virtually abrogated when John proclaimed the kingdom of Heaven. But, with these words, as uttered by Jesus, was connected an incidental or parenthetical remark, which is thus given by Matthew; * "From the days of John the Baptist until now, the kingdom of Heaven is forcing its way, *and the violent are seizing upon it.*" I refer to the last words, which are thus expressed by Luke; "and every one is forcing into it." In these words I suppose Jesus to have referred to those

* Matthew xi. 12.

many Jews, who, possessed with false notions of the character of the Messiah, as a deliverer from the tyranny of the Romans, and ready for deeds of violence, were eager to enlist as his followers, striving to force themselves upon him, without any of the dispositions which he required in his disciples. The words in question are out of place in the passage before us, and appear only in consequence of their original connexion with those which precede.

But, having introduced this mention of the abolition of the ritual Law, Luke proceeds to limit the language in which it is expressed, by another declaration of our Lord; "Heaven and earth may pass away more easily than one tittle fall from the Law." "The Law" is a term used in the New Testament in various senses, and with a very different force and bearing in different connexions. In the mouth of a Jew it denoted, in one of its meanings, the whole of religion as understood by him. The Law, or the Law of God, for the terms were equivalent, was his religion. In this sense the expression might be "the Law," simply, or "the Law and the Prophets." By our Saviour, either term was used in an analogous sense, to denote those essential truths of religion and morality, which alone constitute the Old Testament, or any part of it, a book of religious instruction, and entitle it to be called by the name of "the Law." These, the true Law of God, could never be abrogated. Heaven and earth might pass away, but they would remain unchangeable. Using the term in this meaning, he declares, "that to do to others as we would that they should do to us is the Law and the Prophets," that is, a summary of all the social duties taught by them; and, elsewhere, that the whole Law and the Prophets depend on love to God and love to man. This was the Law from which not the smallest letter nor tittle could pass away; and this Law,

the Pharisees, instead of observing, were continually violating; and were thus an abomination before God.

The passage respecting divorce is introduced with reference to the sanction which the Pharisees gave to the greatest license in this respect, on the part of the husband. No instance, perhaps, could have been chosen, which would have presented, in stronger contrast, their avowed morality with the morality taught by Christ.

The parable of Dives and Lazarus has no relation to the Pharisees; for, considering their austerity of manners, Jesus could not have typified them by one who "feasted sumptuously every day." It was suggested to the recollection of the evangelist, by the discourse of our Saviour respecting the use and misuse of wealth, which gave occasion to all on which we have been remarking.

In other instances, St. Luke has given fragments of what was said by our Saviour at a particular time, omitting the connecting and explanatory passages, so that, though the sense of every part might be clear to his own mind, or to the minds of those possessed of the information current among the first Christians, yet it is not at the present day discernible from his Gospel alone, and we learn it only by a comparison of his accounts with those of Matthew.

Matthew has preserved the striking and appropriate discourse delivered by Jesus, when, after his curing a demoniac, the Pharisees said; "This man casts out demons only through Beelzebub the prince of demons."* In immediate connexion, the evangelist proceeds thus:† "Then some of the teachers of the Law and the Pharisees spoke, saying, Teacher, we wish to see a sign from thee. But he answered them; A wicked and apostate race demands a

* See Matthew xii. 22-37.

† Matthew xii. 38, seqq.

sign ; but no sign shall be given it except the sign of Jonah the prophet." Jesus then speaks in strong figurative language of the depravity and indocility of the race with whom he had to do, concluding thus : *

"When an unclean spirit has gone out of a man, it passes through desert places in search of rest, and finds it not. Then it says, I will return to my house whence I came out ; and, upon returning, it finds the house unoccupied, swept, and put in order. Then it goes and brings with it seven other spirits worse than itself, and they enter in and dwell there, and the last state of that man is worse than the first. So will it be with this evil race."

The evil race spoken of was the great body of the Jews. The nation is compared to an incurable madman, who, after an interval of quiet, relapses into more violent insanity. The figure was suggested by the cure of the demoniac, which gave occasion to the discourse. To understand its application, we must consider that the Jews, since their return from the Babylonish captivity, had not fallen into idolatry, and did not regard themselves as exposed to punishment from God. They thought themselves much better than their countrymen of former times. They said ; "If we had lived in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partners with them in slaying the prophets."† But they hated and went about to destroy Jesus, the greatest of God's messengers to their nation, and to display their enmity toward his disciples, as their fathers had persecuted and put to death their religious teachers. They were about to manifest the same disobedience to God, which their predecessors had done, in a manner still more outrageous. The interval of seeming amendment in the nation was no

* Matthew xii. 43 - 45. † Matthew xxiii. 30.

real change for the better. The evil spirit had returned, and found his house prepared for his reception, and entered in with seven other spirits worse than himself.

In Luke, the passage remarked upon, appears almost in the same words.* But he, after giving a portion of our Saviour's first reply to the Pharisees, immediately subjoins this passage, separated from its proper connexion, and without any thing to explain it, for even the last sentence, "So will it be with this evil race," is omitted. It would be impossible, therefore, from Luke's Gospel alone to determine its reference and ultimate meaning.

In one instance, a portion of the Sermon on the Mount, we have found a discourse of Jesus referred by Luke to an occasion on which it was not delivered. Another striking example of the same kind occurs, I believe, in the discourse consisting of a series of denunciations against the Pharisees. This has the appearance of having been one of the last and most solemn acts of the ministry of Jesus. It is represented by Matthew as having been delivered by him at Jerusalem, only two days before his death, in the temple which he had then entered for the last time, amid a concourse of people, among whom many of the Pharisees were standing as listeners. According to Matthew he concluded it thus: †

"Jerusalem! Jerusalem! who killest the teachers and stonest those who are sent to thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together as a bird gathers her young under her wings; and ye would not! Behold your house is left you deserted. For I declare to you; Ye shall not see me henceforth, till ye shall say, Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord.

* Luke xi. 24 - 26. † See Matthew xxiii. 13 - 39.

“ And Jesus went out and left the temple.”

The words of Jesus, just quoted, are misplaced by Luke, and their meaning obscured in consequence.* It is obvious, what a most striking conclusion they form to the discourse, if we regard it as it appears in Matthew.

Till his business on earth drew toward its accomplishment, it would not have been the part of wisdom in Jesus, to have exasperated to the uttermost the passions of the Pharisees, especially under circumstances which put his life in their power. Nor, till his apostles and other followers had been formed to their duties, as far as might be, by his personal influence, would it have been prudent to place them in such open and irreconcilable opposition to those, whose sanctity, and whose authority as religious teachers, had been so revered by their countrymen. But the deadly hatred of the Pharisees was no longer to be avoided, it was to be encountered; and his followers had received, and were just about to receive in his resurrection from the dead, evidence which could leave no doubt in their minds of his divine mission. Accordingly, though in St. Matthew's account of the preaching of Jesus, we find previously strong expressions of censure upon the Pharisees, or upon some of their number, yet there is nothing at once so plain and unreserved in its meaning, so direct and general in its application, so terrible in its reproaches and denunciations, and pronounced so formally and solemnly to a public assembly representing the whole Jewish nation. Every thing now conspired to give weight to his words. The utterance of them appears not as an incidental act of his ministry, but as purposed beforehand, as a main object of it; as a testimony delivered in the name of God, not

* See Luke xiii. 34, 35.

against the character of the Pharisees alone, but against hypocrisy and bigotry, whatever forms they might assume.

All, therefore, according to the narrative of Matthew, is consistent. But Luke represents this discourse against the Pharisees as having been uttered somewhere at a distance from Jerusalem, in a private house, — the house of a Pharisee, who had, at least with a show of hospitality, invited Jesus as a guest.* The occasion, likewise, assigned by Luke, does not seem such as the discourse required. The evangelist says; “Now while he was teaching, a Pharisee asked him to dine with him. And he entered and placed himself at table. But the Pharisee wondered, when he saw that he did not wash his hands before dinner: [conformably to a ceremony of the Jews, to which they attached great importance.] But the Lord said to him; Now you Pharisees make clean the outside of the cup and dish, but ye are full within of rapaciousness and wickedness.” And then follows, with some variation in the report, the same discourse which is given by Matthew as delivered in the temple at Jerusalem. The misplacing of this discourse by Luke may be accounted for by the supposition, that Jesus did, on the occasion to which this evangelist has referred it, make some comments upon the superstitious observances of the Pharisees, and speak of their worthlessness, contrasting it with the importance of justice, mercy, and truth.

One other characteristic of Luke's Gospel remains to be mentioned. He gives different discourses of Jesus with so slight a form of transition from one to another, or perhaps without any, that they all appear, at first view, either to form but one discourse, or to have been delivered consecu-

* Luke xi. 37 – 52.

tively. Some discourses of our Lord, we may suppose, had been blended together in the oral teaching of the apostles, as relating to the same subject, or as illustrating each other; and some may have been narrated without mention of the occasion on which they were delivered, this occasion not being of particular interest. As Luke was unacquainted with the chronological order and original relation of these discourses, he has collected and placed them miscellaneously, without carefully separating one from another. An example of this is furnished by that portion of his Gospel which begins with the fourteenth verse of the eleventh chapter, and ends with the ninth verse of the thirteenth chapter.

This view of the formation and character of Luke's Gospel may assist us in understanding it, and solve some difficulties with which we might otherwise be embarrassed. But the consideration of the phenomena, that have been pointed out, leads to a further conclusion. It is difficult to state them without implying the circumstances in which they had their origin. They are accounted for at once, if we suppose that the apostles, regarding the words of their Master as embodying the truths of his religion, were accustomed to bring them together in different forms, to apply them on various occasions, and sometimes to change their original sense and adapt striking expressions to a new subject; and that, such being the case, they were collected and arranged by one, who, like St. Luke, was not personally conversant with Jesus, but derived his information from the preaching and conversation of his immediate followers. This solution explains all the appearances presented, and I know of no other which will explain them. But this solution rests on the belief, that the words recorded in the first three Gospels were uttered by Jesus.

It has been my purpose to show, that, when we consider the agreements and differences among the first three Gospels, we find their character to be such as cannot be accounted for by the supposition, that the evangelists copied either one from another, or all from common written documents. Some common archetype, however, they must have had; the corresponding passages which we find in them, if they did not previously exist in a determinate written form, must have existed orally in forms nearly resembling those which they now present; and this supposition of a model, partly fixed, by a regard to truth, and by frequent repetition, and partly fluctuating, through the changes of oral narration, is the only one that accounts satisfactorily for the phenomena presented. But the narratives which the evangelists have thus transmitted to us were the original accounts of the apostles and first preachers of Christianity. This appears from the accordance of the Gospels with each other in the view which they present of the marvellous character and ministry of Christ. Accounts so wonderful, especially if one fancy them unfounded in truth, would have been distorted in many different ways, with or without some dishonest purpose, if abandoned to oral tradition, floating through different countries, and received and transmitted by thousands of new converts. We cannot suppose, that, after the apostolic age, three unconnected writers, founding their narratives upon oral accounts alone, would have harmonized together as do the three evangelists.* The agreement and difference among these Gospels present a very extraordinary, or rather a unique phenomenon, which requires a peculiar cause for its solution, and this cause is, I think, to be found only in the fact, that they were all based upon un-

* See before, p. 159, seqq.

written narratives, which had, as yet, lost nothing of their original character; and which, therefore, were the narratives, true or false, of the first preachers of the religion. In reading those Gospels, therefore, we are in effect listening to the very words of the apostles; we are, if I may so speak, introduced into their presence, to receive their testimony concerning deeds and words, which they affirm that they saw and heard, and miracles of such a character, that it would be idle to suppose them deceived or mistaken in their reports. The question, then, concerning the truth of Christianity, under this aspect of its evidences, lies within a narrow compass. Realize, as far as you can, the characters and circumstances of the apostles; place yourselves, in imagination, in their presence, attend to their testimony, and search for every motive and feeling that might lead them, all in common, at the hazard of every worldly good, to persist in asserting the truth of stories, which they knew, and thousands of their hearers knew, and all might know, to be false. Just so far as any probable motive may be assigned for such conduct, just so far, and no further, may the truth of Christianity be rendered doubtful.

Thus, if we have reasoned rightly, an inquiry, which might at first view seem to many a matter of curiosity rather than of great interest, has led us to some important conclusions; among which the most remarkable is, that the very structure of the first three Gospels affords, when they are compared together, proof of the truth of the history they contain, and, consequently, of the miraculous origin of our religion. Nor, perhaps, was this result to be unexpected. Whether we regard the history of Christ as true or false, there can be no question, that the establishment of Christianity is the most memorable event in the history of our race, that which

has produced the greatest and most permanent effects upon the character and condition of men. To produce such results, some most extraordinary cause or causes must have been in operation. But, if the account of those causes which we, as Christians, receive, be not true, the whole early history of Christianity will assume a new aspect. Imagine fraud, enthusiasm, mistake, singular combinations of circumstances, all or any thing that can be moulded into a plausible scheme to account for the origin and rapid progress of our religion ; still, if it was not, as represented, a religion from God, established by miraculous proof, all its original bearings upon every individual, and every subject with which it had relation, must have been essentially different from what we conceive them to have been. As we suppose the religion true or false, we are obliged to suppose causes in action of the most opposite character, the power of God in one case, and fraud and delusion, or error of whatever kind it may be fancied, in the other. But those causes by which Christianity was established, let us suppose them what we will, must have stamped their own character ineffaceably upon whatever was subjected to their operation. If Christianity were false, we should find clear marks of falsehood in the history of Jesus, in the conduct, preaching, and writings of those teachers who immediately succeeded him, in the accounts of its propagation, in the direct and indirect notices of its early converts, in its real or pretended bearings upon the history of the times, and especially in its doctrines and morals. We should distinguish, at first sight, such an attempt to counterfeit the power and wisdom of God. But truth is always consistent, and discovers itself in all its aspects and connexions ; and hence it is, that we can investigate scarcely any subject relating to the early history of our religion, without some new con-

firmation of our faith. Though many parts of this history are lost, yet many remain, spread over a wide field, so that we may pursue our inquiries through various and very different paths, all terminating in the same conclusion, the divine origin of Christianity.

NOTE E.

(See pp. 195, 199, 201, and 224.)

JUSTIN MARTYR'S QUOTATIONS.

SECTION I.

Justin's Quotations from the Gospels.

THE following specimen of Justin's quotations from the Gospels, as I believe, is furnished by Bishop Marsh.* I quote it as given by him, omitting his notes, which are unimportant to our present purpose. He says; "If the Ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν Ἀποστόλων, from which he professes to quote the discourses of Christ, were no other than our four Gospels, we might justly infer, that the same *verbal* agreement which takes place between Justin's quotations from the Psalms and the text of the Septuagint, would take place also between Justin's quotations from the discourses of Christ, and those discourses as recorded by our evangelists. I will select, therefore, the most remarkable of our Saviour's discourses, the Sermon on the Mount. With the exception of one or two short sentences, all Justin's quotations from the Sermon on the Mount are contained within the compass of six pages in his first Apology. I will lay before the reader, therefore, *all* his quotations from the Sermon on the Mount, contained in these six pages (p. 21 - 26. ed. Thirlby). I will place them in the order in which they

* Illustration of his Hypothesis. Appendix, pp. 51 - 55.

follow each other in Justin's Apology, and will distinguish them by beginning each of *Justin's* quotations with a *capital*."

Justin's Quotations from the Sermon on the Mount.	Corresponding Passages in our Gospels.	
“Ος ἂν ἐμβλίψῃ γυναικὶ πρὸς τὸ ἰσθυμῆσαι αὐτῆς, ἥδη ἐμοίχισται τῇ καρδίᾳ παρὰ τῇ Θυῖ. Εἰ δὲ ὀφθαλμοί σου ὁ διέξῃς σκανδαλίζῃ σε, ἔκκοψον αὐτόν· συμφέρι γὰρ σοι μονόφθαλμον εἰσέλθῃν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἢ μὴ τὰ τῶν δύο περιφθῆναι εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ. “Ος γὰρ ἂν ἀπολελοιμάνῃ γυνῆν ἰσίου ἀνδρὸς, μοιχᾷται. Εἰ ἀγαπᾷται τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς τί καινὸν ποιοῦτε; καὶ γὰρ οἱ πύργοι τοῦτοι ποιοῦσιν. ἰγὰρ δι' ὑμῶν λίγῳ, εὐχισθὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰχθρῶν ὁμῶν, καὶ ἀγαπᾷται τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἐβλογίῃται τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῶν, καὶ εὐχισθὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰσχυροῦντων ὑμᾶς. Παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντι δίδου, καὶ τὸν βουλόμηνον δανίσασθαι, μὴ ἀποστραφῆναι. εἰ γὰρ δανίζῃται παρ' ὧν ἰσπίζῃται λαβεῖν, τί καινὸν ποιοῦτε; τοῦτο καὶ οἱ τιλῶναι ποιοῦσιν. ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴ θησαυρίζετε λαυταῖς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅπου σῆς καὶ βρῶσις ἀφανίζῃ, καὶ λησται διαρῶσσυσι· θησαυρίζετε δὲ	Πᾶς ὁ βλίσκων γυναικὰ πρὸς τὸ ἰσθυμῆσαι αὐτῆς, ἥδη ἐμοίχισται αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ. Εἰ δὲ ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου ὁ διέξῃς σκανδαλίζῃ σε, ἔξειλὲ αὐτόν, καὶ βάλε ἀπὸ σοῦ· συμφέρι γὰρ σοι ἵνα ἀπόληται ἐν τῶν μιλῶν σου, καὶ μὴ ἴλῃς τὸ σῶμά σου βληθῆ εἰς γήεναν. “Ος ἂν ἀπολελοιμάνῃ γυνῆν μοιχᾷται. “Εὰν γὰρ ἀγαπήσῃται τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς τίνα μισθὸν ἴσχει; οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ τιλῶναι τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσι; “Εγὼ δὲ λίγῳ ὑμῶν, ἀγαπᾷται τοὺς ἰχθρῶν ὁμῶν, εὐλογίῃται τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς, καλῶς ποιοῦτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ προσεύχισθὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰσχυροῦντων ὑμᾶς καὶ διακόντων ὑμᾶς. Τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου· καὶ τὸν θέλοντα ἀπὸ σου δανίσασθαι, μὴ ἀποστραφῆς. “Εὰν δανίζῃται παρ' ὧν ἰσπίζῃται ἀπολαβεῖν, πῶς ὁμῶν χάρις ἴστί; καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἀμαρτωλοὶ ἀμαρτωλοῖς δανίζουσι. Μὴ θησαυρίζετε ὑμῶν θησαυροὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅπου σῆς καὶ βρῶσις ἀφανίζῃ, καὶ ὅπου κλέπτουσι καὶ κλέπτουσι· θησαυρίζετε δὲ	Matth. v. 28. 29. 32. 46. 44. 42. Luke vi. 34. Matth. vi. 19. 20.

Justin's Quotations from the
Sermon on the Mount.Corresponding Passages in our
Gospels.

λαυταῖς ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ὅπου οὐτε
σὴς οὐτε βροῦσι ἀφανίζου.

ὁμῶν θεσφαυροῦς ἐν οὐρανοῖς, ὅπου οὐτε
σὴς οὐτε βροῦσι ἀφανίζου,
καὶ ὅπου κἀνταῦτα οὐ διαρύσσουσιν οὐδὲ
κἀνταρῶσιν.

τί γὰρ ἀφελῶνται ἄνθρωποι, ὅτι
κίβητοι ὄλον κερδήσῃ, τὴν δὲ
ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπολλοῦ; ἢ τί δώσω
αὐτῆς ἀντάλλαγμα; ὁ θσαυρίζου
οὐ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ὅπου οὐτε σὴς
οὐτε βροῦσι ἀφανίζου.

Τί γὰρ ἀφελῶνται ἄνθρωποι, ἵνα τὸν
κίβητοι ὄλον κερδήσῃ, τὴν δὲ
ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ζημιώσῃ; ἢ τί δώσω
ἄνθρωπος ἀντάλλαγμα τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ;

Matth.
xvi. 26.

Γίνεσθι δι' χρηστοὶ καὶ οἰκτίρ-
μοις, ὡς καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὁμῶν
χρηστός ἐστι καὶ οἰκτίρμων,
καὶ τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατίλλου
ἐπὶ ἁμαρτωλοῦς, καὶ δικαίους,
καὶ πονηροῦς. μὴ μεριμνᾶτε δι'
τί φάγητε, ἢ τί ἐνδύσθητε· οὐχ

Γίνεσθι οὖν οἰκτίρ-
μοις, καθὼς καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὁμῶν
οἰκτίρμων ἐστί.

Luke
vi. 36.

Ὅτι τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατίλλου
ἐπὶ πονηροῦς καὶ ἀγαθοῦς.

Matth.
v. 45.

Μὴ μεριμνᾶτε τῇ ψυχῇ ὁμῶν,
τί φάγητε, καὶ τί πίψετε· μηδὲ τῷ σώματι
ὁμῶν, τί ἐνδύσθητε.

vi. 25.

ὁμῶς τῶν πτωχῶν καὶ τῶν θείων
διαφίεσθε; καὶ ὁ Θεὸς τρέψι αὐτά.

Ἐμβλίψατε εἰς τὰ πτωχὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
κ. τ. λ. καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὁμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος
τρέψι αὐτά·

26.

μὴ οὖν μεριμνήσητε τί
φάγητε, ἢ τί ἐνδύσθητε·

οὐχ ὁμῶς μᾶλλον διαφίεσθε αὐτῶν;
Μὴ οὖν μεριμνήσητε, λίγοντες, τί
φάγωμεν, ἢ τί πίωμεν, ἢ τί περιβαλώμεθα;

31.

οἶδε γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ὁμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος
ὅτι τούτων χρεῖαν ἔχετε· ζητεῖτε
δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ,
καὶ ταῦτα πάντα προστεθήσονται

Πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ ἴθνη ἐπιζητεῖ.
Οἶδε γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ὁμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος,
ὅτι χρῆζετε τούτων ἁπάντων. Ζητεῖτε
δὲ πρῶτον τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ τῆς
δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα
προστεθήσονται

32.

33.

ὁμῶν. ὅπου γὰρ ὁ θεσφαυρὸς
ἐστιν, ἐκεῖ καὶ ὁ νοῦς τοῦ ἀν-
θρώπου.

ὁμῶν. Ὅπου γὰρ ἐστί ὁ θεσφαυρὸς
ὁμῶν, ἐκεῖ καὶ ἡ καρδιά ὁμῶν
ἐστί.

Luke
xii. 34.

Μὴ πωτῇ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸ δια-
βῆναι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων·

Προσέχετε τὴν ἰλιμωσύνην ὁμῶν μὴ πωτῇ
ἱμπερῆσαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, πρὸς τὸ διαβῆναι
αὐτοῖς·

Matth.
vi. 1.

Justin's Quotations from the Sermon on the Mount.	Corresponding Passages in our Gospels.	
οἱ δὲ μάγι, μισθὸν οὐκ ἔχοντες παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.	οἱ δὲ μάγι, μισθὸν οὐκ ἔχοντες παρὰ τῆς πατρὸς ὑμῶν τῆς ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.	
Τῷ τούτῳ τὸν σου τὴν σιαγόνα, πᾶριχι καὶ τὴν ἑλλην· καὶ τὸν αἵρεσίν σου τὸν χιτῶνα, ἢ τὸ ἱμάτιον, μὴ κωλύσης. ὅς ὃ ἂν ἐργασθῇ, ἴσχυός ἐστιν εἰς τὸ πῦρ.	Τῷ τούτῳ τὸν σε ἐπὶ τὴν σιαγόνα, πᾶριχι καὶ τὴν ἑλλην· καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵρεσίν σου τὸ ἱμάτιον, καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα μὴ κωλύσης. Πᾶς ὁ ἐργαζόμενος - - - ἴσχυός ἐστιν εἰς τὴν γίνεσθαι τοῦ πυρός.	Luke vi. 29. Matth. v. 22.
παντὶ δὲ ἀγγαρεύοντι σε μίλιον, ἀκολουθήσῃ	Καὶ ὅστις σε ἀγγαρεύσει μίλιον ἓξ, ὑπαγε	41.
δύο. λαμφάτω δὲ ὑμῶν τὰ καλὰ ἔργα ἱμπεροῦσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἵνα βλέποντες θαυμάζωσι	μιτ' αὐτοῦ δύο. Οὕτω λαμφάτω τὰ φῶς ὑμῶν ἱμπεροῦσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὥστε ἴδωσιν ὑμῶν τὰ καλὰ ἔργα, καὶ δοξάσωσι	16.
τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν τὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. Μὴ ἡμέτεροι ὦμεν. ἔστω δὲ ὑμῶν τὸ καὶ καὶ, καὶ τὸ εὖ, εὖ· τὸ δὲ περισσὸν	τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν τὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. Λίγων ὑμῶν μὴ ὁμῶσαι ὦμεν. Ἔστω δὲ ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν, καὶ καὶ, εὖ εὖ· τὸ δὲ περισσὸν	34, 37.
τούτων ἐκ τοῦ ποιητοῦ.	τούτων ἐκ τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἔστω.	
Οὐχὶ πᾶς ὁ λίγων μοι, Κύριε, Κύριε, εἰσιλιύσεται εἰς τὴν βα- σιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ	Οὐ πᾶς ὁ λίγων μοι, Κύριε, Κύριε, εἰσιλιύσεται εἰς τὴν βα- σιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν· ἀλλ' ὁ	Matth. vii. 21.
ποιῶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. ὅς γὰρ ἀκούει μου, καὶ ποιῶ ἃ λίγων, ἀκούει τοῦ ἀποστοιλακτοῦς μοι. πολλὰ δὲ ἱεροῦ- σί μοι, Κύριε, Κύριε, οὐ τῇ σῇ	ποιῶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. Πᾶς οὖν ὅστις ἀκούει μου τοὺς λόγους τούτους, καὶ ποιῶ αὐτοὺς, ὁμοιώσω αὐτὸν, κ. τ. λ. Πολλὰ ἱεροῦ- σί μοι ἐν ἑκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, Κύριε, Κύριε, οὐ τῇ σῇ	24. 22
δύναμιτι ἐφάγομεν καὶ πίνομεν,	δύναμιτι προσηυχόμεθα, καὶ τῇ σῇ σὸς- ματι δαιμόνια ἐξιβάλομεν, καὶ τῇ σῇ	
καὶ δυνάμεις ἰσχυήσονται·	δύναμιτι δυνάμεις πολλὰς ἰσχυήσονται·	
καὶ τότε ἱερῶν αὐτοῖς, ἀποχωρεῖτε	Καὶ τότε ὁμολογήσω αὐτοῖς, ὅτι οὐδὲ ποτε ἔγνω ὑμᾶς· ἀποχωρεῖτε	23.
ἀπ' ἡμῶν ἐργάται τῆς ἀνομίας·	ἀπ' ἡμῶν οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν.	
τότε πλαυθὸς ἔσται καὶ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων, ὅταν οἱ μὴ δίκαιοι	Ἐκὺ ἔσται ὁ πλαυθὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων. Τότε οἱ δίκαιοι	Matth. xiii. 42. 43.

Justin's Quotations from the Sermon on the Mount.	Corresponding Passages in our Gospels.	
λάβουσιν ὡς ὁ ἥλιος, οἱ δὲ ἄδι- και σήμερονται εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἔξουσιν ἐπὶ τῇ θύρασι μου, ἔξωθεν μὲν ἐκκείμενοι διέματα προβάτων, ἰσθῆναι δὲ ὄντες λύκοι ἄρπαγες· ἐν τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν ἐπι- γνώσειτε αὐτούς· πάντες δὲ δίδροσιν μὴ ποιῶν καρπὸν καλὸν, ἐκκρίνεται καὶ εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται.	ἐλάβουσιν, ὡς ὁ ἥλιος, ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν. Προσέχεται δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν, οἵτινες ἔρχονται πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν ἱδύμασι προβάτων, ἰσθῆναι δὲ εἰσι λύκοι ἄρπαγες. Ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπι- γνώσειτε αὐτοῦς. Πᾶν δίδροσιν μὴ ποιῶν καρπὸν καλὸν, ἐκκρίνεται καὶ εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται.	Matth. viii 15. 16. 19.

SECTION II.

Justin's Quotations from the Septuagint.

SIMILAR appearances to what present themselves in Justin's quotations from the Gospels are found, also, as I have formerly remarked, in many of those which he has taken from the Septuagint.* The cases, as has been observed, to which this remark does not apply, are, for the most part, those in which he quotes passages of such length, that we might presume beforehand, that he would not trust his memory, but would transcribe them, or in which he quotes passages as a foundation for his reasoning in controversy. But if, in other instances, his quotations from the Septuagint present the same appearances as do the quotations, which, we believe, he borrowed from the Gospels, it follows, that those appearances afford no ground for concluding, that Justin did not quote the Gospels.

In giving a view of his quotations from the Septuagint, I shall begin by taking them in the order in which they occur in his First Apology.

* See p. 198, seqq.

I.

Genesis xlix. 10, 11.

Justin, pp. 50, 51.

Οὐκ ἐκλείψῃ ἄρχων ἐξ Ἰουδα,
καὶ ἡγούμενος ἐκ τῶν μερῶν αὐτοῦ,
ἴως ἂν ἔλθῃ ὃ ἀπόκειται· καὶ
αὐτὸς ἴσται
προδοσίᾳ ἰδιῶν. Δισμύον πρὸς
ἄμτιλοι τὸν πῶλον αὐτοῦ, καὶ
τῇ ἱλκι τὸν πῶλον τῆς οἴου αὐτοῦ·
πλοσιτὶ ἐν οἴῳ τὴν στολὴν αὐτοῦ,
καὶ ἐν αἵματι σταφυλῆς τὴν
σκιβαλὴν αὐτοῦ.

Οὐκ ἐκλείψῃ ἄρχων ἐξ Ἰουδα, οὐδὲ
ἡγούμενος ἐκ τῶν μερῶν αὐτοῦ,
ἴως ἂν ἔλθῃ ὃ [f. ἡ'] ἀπόκειται· καὶ
αὐτὸς ἴσται
προδοσίᾳ ἰδιῶν· δισμύον πρὸς
ἄμτιλοι τὸν πῶλον αὐτοῦ, πλόσων
ἐν αἵματι σταφυλῆς τὴν στολὴν αὐτοῦ.

This passage Justin professes his intention of quoting literally. †

II.

The next quotation that occurs is professedly taken from Isaiah, to whom he refers by name; but is, in fact, compounded of some words from the prophecy of Balaam, given in Numbers, and some others taken from different parts of Isaiah, so that there is no corresponding passage in the Old Testament. It is as follows (p. 53):

Ἀνατιλὺ ἄστειν ἐξ Ἰακώβ, καὶ ἄνθις ἀναβήσεται ἀπὸ τῆς ρίζης Ἰεσσαί,
καὶ ἰαί τὸν βραχίονα αὐτοῦ ἵστη ἰλασιῶσιν.

The first four words may be found in Numbers xxiv. 17. The remainder may be picked out of the following verses of Isaiah, xi. 1, 10; li. 5; the words of the original being, however, somewhat altered.

In the Dialogue with Trypho, Numbers xxiv. 17, is quoted again thus:

Numbers.

Justin, p. 366.

Ἀνατιλὺ ἄστειν ἐξ Ἰακώβ,
καὶ ἀναστήσεται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ Ἰερὰήλ.

Ἀνατιλὺ ἄστειν ἐξ Ἰακώβ,
καὶ ἡγούμενος ἐξ Ἰερὰήλ.

* See Grabe's note in *loc.*

† Μωσῆς μὲν οὖν ὅτι ὅστις ἀνταλίζει ὅστις

III.

Isaiah vii. 14.

Justin, p. 53.

Ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει,
καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ καλέσεται τὸ
ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἑμμανουὴλ.

Ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει,
καὶ τέξεται υἱόν· καὶ ἑρῶσιν ἐπὶ τῷ
δάματι αὐτοῦ, μὴ ἡμῶν ὁ Θεός.

This verse is twice quoted at length in the Dialogue with Trypho (p. 223 and p. 279) in connexion with the verses which precede and follow it. In both places, instead of ἔξει, Justin writes λήγεται, which is the reading of the Vatican MS. In the last clause of the verse, he varies from his own words just given, and corresponds with the Septuagint, except that in one quotation for καλέσεις, he writes καλέσεται, and, in the other, agrees with Matthew in writing καλέσουσι.

IV.

The next quotation is professedly taken from Micah. It agrees verbally with Matthew ii. 6, where the same passage is cited, but differs much from the original. Justin, it is apparent, followed the evangelist, and did not quote directly from the Old Testament.

Micah v. 2.

Justin, p. 55. Matthew ii. 6.

Καὶ σὺ Βηθλεὲμ οἶκος τοῦ Ἐφραθὰ,
ἐλιγοστὸς εἶ τοῦ ὄναι ἐν χιλιᾷσι·
Ἰούδα· ἐν σοὶ μὲν ἐξελιύσεται ἡγεύμε-
νος τοῦ ὄναι εἰς ἄρχοντα ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ.

Καὶ σὺ Βηθλεὲμ, γῆ Ἰούδα, οὐδαμῶς
ἐλαχίστη εἶ ἐν ταῖς ἡγεμίσι Ἰούδα·
ἐν σοὶ γὰρ ἐξελιύσεται ἡγεύμενος ἵστας
ποιμανῶν τὸν λαόν μου.

Matthew adds: τὸν Ἰσραὴλ.

Justin, p. 305, repeats this quotation, from Matthew's Greek Gospel, rather than from Micah, in the same words which he here uses.

V.

Isaiah ix. 6.

Justin, p. 55.

Παιδίον ἐγεννήθη ἡμῶν, υἱὸς καὶ
 ἰδὼν ἡμῶν, οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐγενήθη ἐπὶ
 τοῦ ὄμου αὐτοῦ.

Παιδίον ἐγεννήθη ἡμῶν καὶ νεανίσκος
 ἡμῶν ἀπαδόθη, οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐπὶ
 τοῦ ὄμων.

VI.

Isaiah lxx. 2, and lviii. 2, united.

Justin, p. 55.

Ἐξεπίστασα τὰς χεῖράς μου ἔλθῃ τῇ
 ἡμίρῃ πρὸς λαὸν ἀπειθεύοντα καὶ
 ἀντιλίγοντα, τοῖς περιουμένοις ἰδοῦ
 οὐ καλῶ. Διταῦσί με νῦν κρίσιν
 δικαίαν,
 καὶ ἐγγίξιν Θεῷ ἰσχυροῦσι.

Ἐγὼ ἐξεπίστασα τὰς χεῖράς μου
 ἐπὶ λαὸν ἀπειθεύοντα καὶ
 ἀντιλίγοντα, ἐπὶ τοῖς περιουμένοις ἰδοῦ
 οὐ καλῶ. Διταῦσί με νῦν κρίσιν,
 καὶ ἐγγίξιν Θεῷ τελευτών.

Justin quotes Isaiah lxx. 2, several times, as he has here given it, or with slight variations.

VII.

Psalm xxi. 17 and 19.

Justin, p. 56.

Ἦρουν χεῖράς μου καὶ πόδας μου ·
 καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμὸν μου ἔβαλον
 κλῆρον.

Αὐτοὶ ἤρουν μου πόδας καὶ χεῖρας ·
 καὶ ἔβαλον κλῆρον ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμὸν
 μου.

A few lines after, Justin quotes as follows :

Ἦρουν μου χεῖρας καὶ πόδας.

Again, two pages after he quotes the passage still differently, blending it with another from the third Psalm, thus :

Psalm xxi, 17, 19 ; iii. 6.

Justin, p. 58.

Ἦρουν χεῖράς μου, α. ε. λ. vid. sup.

Αὐτοὶ ἔβαλον κλῆρον ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμὸν
 μου, καὶ ἤρουν μου πόδας καὶ χεῖρας.

Ἐγὼ δὲ ἱκομήθην καὶ ὕπνωσα ·

ἐγὼ δὲ ἱκομήθην καὶ ὕπνωσα, καὶ

ἐξηγήθην, ὅτι Κύριος ἀντιλήψεται μου.

ἀπόστην · ὅτι Κύριος ἀντιλάβιστό μου.

Notwithstanding all this, however, the passage from the twenty-first Psalm, together with the eighteenth verse, here omitted, is twice quoted conformably to the Septuagint in the Dialogue with Trypho (p. 348, p. 362).

VIII.

The next passage he professes to quote from Zephaniah ; it is in fact taken from Zechariah.

Zechariah ix. 9.

Justin, pp. 56, 57.

Χαῖρε σφόδρα, θύγατρι Σιών,
κἄρυσσι, θύγατρι Ἱερουσαλήμ· Ἰδοὺ
ὁ βασιλεὺς σου ἔρχεται· δίκαιος καὶ
σώσων αὐτοὺς, περὶ καὶ ἐπιβιβηκὼς
ἐπὶ ὑποζύγιον καὶ πῶλον ῥίον.

Χαῖρε σφόδρα, θύγατρι Σιών,
κἄρυσσι, θύγατρι Ἱερουσαλήμ· Ἰδοὺ
ὁ βασιλεὺς σου ἔρχεται· περὶ,
ἐπιβιβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὄνον, καὶ πῶλον, υἱὸν
ὑποζυγίου.

The latter part of Justin's quotation, beginning with the word ἰδοὺ, corresponds verbally, except in the omission of καὶ before ἐπιβιβηκὼς, with the citation of Matthew (xxi. 5), and not with the Septuagint ; while the preceding part corresponds with the Septuagint and not with Matthew. In the Dialogue with Trypho (p. 245), the passage is quoted again, being there referred to Zechariah, in the following manner :

Χαῖρε σφόδρα, θύγατρι Σιών· ἀλλάλαξον, κἄρυσσι, θύγατρι Ἱερουσαλήμ·
Ἰδοὺ ὁ βασιλεὺς σου ἔστι σοί· δίκαιος καὶ σώσων αὐτοὺς, καὶ περὶ καὶ πετω-
χὸς, ἐπιβιβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὑποζύγιον καὶ πῶλον ὄνον.

IX.

Isaiah i. 3, 4, (p. 57,) corresponds with the Septuagint.

X.

Isaiah lxvi. 1.

Justin, p. 58.

Οὕτως λέγει Κύριος ὁ οὐρανός
 καὶ ἑρτίος, ἡ δὲ γῆ ὑποπόδιον τῶν
 ποδῶν μου· παῖον οἶπον οἰκοδομήσεσθαι
 μοι.

Παῖον μοι οἶπον οἰκοδομήσεσθαι; λέγει
 Κύριος ὁ οὐρανός μοι ἑρτίος, καὶ ἡ γῆ
 ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν μου.

Justin quotes the passage in the same manner, excepting a very slight variation, in his Dialogue with Trypho (p 182).

XI.

The words of the next quotation are loosely cited with variations from the passage beginning with the eleventh and ending with the fifteenth verse of the first chapter of Isaiah, no regard being had to the order of the original; and from Isaiah lviii. 6, 7.

Isaiah.

Justin, p. 58.

(i. 14.) Τὰς νομινίας ὑμῶν, καὶ τὰς
 ἱερτὰς ὑμῶν μοι εἰ ἡ ψυχὴ μου·
 (v. 13.) καὶ ἡμέραν μεγάλην οὐκ
 ἀνέχομαι·
 νηστίασιν καὶ ἔργισιν· (v. 12.) οὐδ' ἂν
 ἔρχησθαι ὀφθῇ μοι (v. 15.) εἰσακού-
 σομαι ὑμῶν· αἱ γὰρ χεῖρες ὑμῶν
 αἵματος πλήρεις· (v. 13.) Ἐὰν
 φέρεσθαι μοι σιμῖδαλιν, μάταιον·
 θυμίαμα, βδελυγμὰ μοι ἵστί·
 (v. 11.) στίλας ἁρῶν καὶ αἷμα
 ταύρων καὶ τράγων οὐ βούλομαι·
 (v. 12.) τίς γὰρ ἐξιζήτησι ταῦτα ἐν
 τῶν χειρῶν ὑμῶν; (lviii. 6.) Ἀλλὰ
 λύε πάντα σύνδισμον ἀδικίας, διάλυε
 στραγγαλιὰς βιαίων συναλλαγμάτων·
 (v. 7.) διάβρωσθε πινῶντι τὸν ἄρτον
 σου, καὶ πτωχοὺς ἀστίγους εἰσάγε
 εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου· ἵνα ἴδῃς γυμνὸν,
 περιβεβλη.

Τὰς νομινίας ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς
 σάββατα μοι εἰ ἡ ψυχὴ μου· καὶ μεγάλην
 ἡμέραν νηστίας, καὶ ἔργισιν οὐκ
 ἀνέχομαι·
 ὑμῶν· πλῆρεις αἵματος αἱ χεῖρες
 ὑμῶν· πῶς φέρεται σιμῖδαλιν,
 θυμίαμα, βδελυγμὰ μοι ἵστί·
 στίλας ἁρῶν καὶ αἷμα
 ταύρων οὐ βούλομαι·
 τίς γὰρ ἐξιζήτησι ταῦτα ἐν
 τῶν χειρῶν ὑμῶν; Ἀλλὰ
 διάλυε πάντα σύνδισμον ἀδικίας, διάστω
 στραγγαλιὰς βιαίων συναλλαγμάτων,
 ἄστυγον καὶ γυμνὸν εἰσάγε, διάβρωσθε
 πινῶντι τὸν ἄρτον σου.

XII.

Isaiah l. 6, 7, 8, (p. 58,) corresponds to the Septuagint with slight variations.

XIII.

Psalm xxi. 8, 9.

Justin, p. 59.

Ἐλάλησαν ἐν χεΐλει, ἐποίησαν
κεφαλὴν. Ἦλπισιν ἐπὶ Κύριον,
ῥυσάσθω αὐτόν.

Ἐλάλησαν ἐν χεΐλει, ἐποίησαν
κεφαλὴν, λίγοντες,
ῥυσάσθω ἑαυτοῖς.

This passage is quoted conformably to the Septuagint in the Dialogue with Trypho, p. 355.

I HAVE thus far brought forward all the quotations from the Septuagint to be found in that portion of the Apology which we have gone over. It is unnecessary to pursue this course. But the following examples may serve to illustrate further Justin's failures of memory and disregard of accuracy in quoting the Old Testament.

In his First Apology, p. 76, he professedly quotes from Jeremiah. The passage in fact referred to is in Daniel; but there is a great want of agreement between his quotation and the original.

Daniel vii. 13.

Justin, p. 76.

Ἰδοὺ, ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ,
ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται,
καὶ ὡς παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν παρῆν,
καὶ οἱ παραστησέμενοι ταξῆσαι αὐτόν.

Ἰδοὺ, ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται
ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ,
καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ ἐνὶ αὐτῷ.

On p. 197, where the words are given as part of a long quotation from Daniel, they are quoted still differently, but not conformably to the Septuagint.

On page 77, he professedly quotes Ezekiel; but the passage is taken partly from that prophet and partly from

Isaiah, the whole being given as one quotation. The allusion to Ezekiel is clear ; but the language of Justin is merely colored by the expressions of the prophet. The quotation from Isaiah is not accurate.

On the same page, he professedly quotes Zechariah ; but the passage given is really his own composition, founded upon words and thoughts blended together from Zechariah, Isaiah, and Joel.

On p. 79, we find a passage quoted as from Isaiah, which is in fact taken from Jeremiah. It is given by Justin as follows :

Jeremiah ix. 26.

Justin, p. 79.

Πάντα τὰ ἴθνη ἀπερίεργα
σεαυτοῖ, καὶ πῶς οἶνος Ἰσραὴλ
ἀπερίεργος καρδίας αὐτῶν.

Ἰσραὴλ ἀπερίεργος τὴν καρδίαν,
τὰ δὲ ἴθνη τὴν ἀκαθαρσίαν.

On page 88, he quotes Moses as saying :

Καταθήσεται δεξιῶν σου πῦρ καὶ καταφάγεται μέγας τῆς ἐβδόμης σόφρων.

The words referred to are these, Deuteronomy xxxii. 22.

Ὅτι πῦρ ἐκκίνασται ἐν τοῦ θυμοῦ μου, καυθήσεται ὡς ξύλον πάτω·
καταφάγεται γῆν καὶ τὰ γινώμενα αὐτῆς, φλίξου ἐμίλια ἔξω.

On p. 166, he ascribes to Hosea what was said by Zechariah, and what he himself elsewhere (p. 77.) quotes as from Zechariah ; and on p. 236, he quotes as from Zechariah a passage of Malachi.

I have remarked, that Justin has twice "quoted the Pentateuch, once expressly, and once by implication for

facts nowhere to be found in the Old Testament." * One of the passages I referred to is the following. Justin says, pp. 65, 66,

"The Holy Spirit of prophecy has taught us by Moses, saying, that when man was first formed, God thus addressed him, Behold, good and evil are before thee, choose the good."

Justin seems here to have had a confused recollection of what Moses is represented as having said to the Israelites, Deuteronomy xxx. 15, 19.

The other passage (p. 92.) is one in which he speaks of Moses as "engaged in feeding the flocks of his maternal uncle in Arabia." It has been conjectured, that Justin, in thus writing, confounded the history of Jacob with that of Moses.

In Justin's quotations from Plato, there is the same want of accuracy as in those from the Septuagint. I will give an example in a famous passage from the *Timæus*.

Timæus, p. 28.

Justin, p. 124.

Τὸν μὲν οὖν ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τοῦδε τοῦ παντός· ὑπεῖν τι ἔργον, καὶ εὐρόντα εἰς πάντας ἀδύνατον λόγῳ. Τὸν δὲ πατέρα καὶ δημιουργὸν πάντων οὐδ' ὑπεῖν ἰσχύειν, οὐδ' εὐρόντα εἰς πάντας εἰπεῖν ἀσφαλές.

These words Justin ascribes to Socrates, though they are put by Plato into the mouth of *Timæus*; and represents them as an exhortation to men to become acquainted, through the exercise of their reason, with the Unknown God. †

* See before, p. 199.

† Πρὸς Θεοῦ δὲ τοῦ ἀγνώστου αὐτοῦ διὰ λόγου ζητήσις· ἐσθλὴν πρὸς τρέψις, ἰσχύειν, κ. τ. λ.

MANY similar passages might be added to those I have adduced; but those are sufficient to show, that the want of verbal agreement in Justin's quotations from the Gospels affords no ground for doubting that he quoted the Gospels; that he was not, as has been affirmed, "extremely accurate as to the words of his quotations"; and that no hypothesis can be more baseless than one built on a contrary supposition.*

SECTION III.

Passages in which Justin has repeated the same Quotation from the Gospels with Variations.

I HAVE observed, that the fact, that Justin was not solicitous to quote what he calls the "Memoirs by the Apostles," that is, as I believe, our present Gospels, with verbal accuracy, is proved beyond controversy by the circumstance, that he repeats the same quotation with variations.† The following are examples.

I.

Matth. iii. 11, 12. Justin, p. 236. Justin, p. 332. John i. 20, 23.

— ἔστις ἐπὶ τὸν		— πρὸς οὓς καὶ	
Ἰερδάνην ποτα-			
μὴν καθιζόμενος αὐτὸς ἰβάν·			
Ἐγὼ μὲν βαπτί-	ἰβάν· Ἐγὼ μὲν	Οὐκ εἰμὶ ὁ Χρ-	Οὐκ εἰμὶ ἰγὼ ὁ
ζω ὑμᾶς ἐν ὕδατι,	ὑμᾶς βαπτίζω	στὸς, ἀλλὰ φωνὴ	Χριστοῦ, ἐγὼ φωνὴ
εἰς μισάνοιαν· ὁ	ἐν ὕδατι, εἰς μισά-	βοῶντος·	βοῶντος.
δι' ὁπίσω μου ἔρχό-	νοισιν· ἥξει δὲ ὁ	ἥξει γὰρ	
μενος ἰσχυρότερός	ἰσχυρότερός μου,	ὁ ἰσχυρότερός μου,	
μου ἔστιν, οὗ οὐκ	οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ	οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ	
εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς τὰ	ἱκανὸς τὰ ὑποδή-	ἱκανὸς τὰ ὑποδή-	
ὑποδήματα βα-	ματα βαστάσαι.	ματα βαστάσαι.	
στάσαι.			

* See before, p. 197, seqq. † See pp. 200, 201.

The last quotation affords one of the clear cases in which Justin appears to have cited the Gospel of St. John.

II.

Matt. iv. 10. Luke iv. 8.

Justin, p. 361.

Justin, p. 407.

Matthew. Τότε λίγει
αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· Ὑπαγε
ὀπίσω μου, Σατανᾶ·
γίγρεσθαι γάρ· Κύριον
τὸν Θεόν σου προσκυνήσεις,
καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῃ λατρεύ-
σεις.

— ἀποκρίνεται αὐτῷ
τὸν Χριστὸν, Ὑπαγε
ὀπίσω μου, Σατανᾶ·
Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου
προσκυνήσεις, καὶ αὐτῷ
μοιῇ λατρεύσεις.

— ἀποκρίνεται γὰρ
αὐτῷ, Γίγρεσθαι,
Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου προσ-
κυνήσεις, καὶ αὐτῷ μοιῇ
λατρεύσεις.

Luke. Ἀποκριθεὶς αὐτῷ
εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς· Γίγρε-
σθαι, Προσκυνήσεις Κύριον
τὸν Θεόν σου, καὶ αὐτῷ
μόνῃ λατρεύσεις.

III.

Matth. vii. 22, 23.

Justin, pp. 25, 26.

Justin, p. 302.

Πολλοὶ ἐροῦσί μοι
ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ,
Κύριε, κύριε, οὐ τῇ σῇ
δόξῃ προφητεύομεν,
καὶ τῇ σῇ δόξῃ δαιμό-
νια ἐξιβάλομεν, καὶ τῇ σῇ
δόξῃ δυνάμεις πολλὰς
ἐποιήσαμεν; Καὶ τότε
ἐμολογήσῃ αὐτοῖς, ὅτι
οὐδὲ ἴσταντο ἔγνων ὑμᾶς·

Ἀποχωρεῖτε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ οἱ
ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν.

Πολλοὶ δὲ ἐροῦσί μοι,
Κύριε, κύριε, οὐ τῇ σῇ
δόξῃ ἐφάγομεν καὶ
ἵπιομεν,
καὶ δυνάμεις ἐποιήσα-
μεν; Καὶ τότε ἐρῶ
αὐτοῖς,

Ἀποχωρεῖτε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ,
ἐργάται τῆς ἀνομίας.

Πολλοὶ ἐροῦσί μοι
τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ·
Κύριε, κύριε, οὐ τῇ σῇ
δόξῃ ἐφάγομεν καὶ ἵπ-
ιομεν, καὶ προφητεύομεν,
καὶ δαιμόνια ἐξιβάλομεν;

Καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτοῖς,

Ἀποχωρεῖτε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.

IV.

In immediate connexion with the words just given from Justin, in the middle column, are the following, as part of the same quotation ; " Then shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, when the righteous shine forth as the sun, and the unrighteous are sent into eternal fire ;" and then succeed, still as part of the same quotation, words cited from Matthew vii. 15, 16, 19. But that Matthew vii. 15. did not stand in this connexion in the text of his Gospel may appear from the different manner in which he quotes it elsewhere.

Matth. vii. 15.	Justin, p. 26.	Justin, p. 208.
Προσίχεται δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν, οἵτινες ἔρχονται πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἵνα ἐκδύναται προβάτῳ, ἵσθαι δὲ εἰσι λύκοι ἄρπαγες.	Πολλοὶ γὰρ ἤξουσιν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐνέματί μου, ἔξωθεν μὴν ἐκδιδυμῖναι δέμας προβάτων, ἵσθαι δὲ ὅτις λύκοι ἄρπαγες.	Προσίχεται ἀπὸ τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν, οἵτινες ἐκδύναται πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἵσθαι ἐκδιδυμῖναι δέμας προβάτων, ἵσθαι δὲ εἰσι λύκοι ἄρπαγες.

V.

Matth. xix. 16, 17.	Justin, p. 25.	Justin, p. 354.
Καὶ ἰδοὺ, εἰς προσελθὼν εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Διδάσκαλε ἀγαθί. Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Τί με λίγως ἀγαθός ; οὐδὲν ἀγαθός, εἰ μὴ εἰς, ὁ Θεός.*	Καὶ προσελθόντες τινὲς καὶ εἰπόντες, Διδάσκαλε ἀγαθί, ἀπεικρίνατο λίγων, Οὐδὲν ἀγαθός, εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ Θεός, ὁ ποιήσας τὰ πάντα.	Λίγοντες αὐτῷ τινὲς, Διδάσκαλε ἀγαθί, ἀπεικρίνατο, Τί με λίγως ἀγαθός ; εἰς ἐστὶν ἀγαθός, ὁ Πατήρ μου ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.

* I think it most probable, that this is the true reading in Matthew. If it be not, it is the reading both of Mark and Luke.

VI.

Matth. xxiii. 23, 24, 27.

Justin, p. 172.

Justin, p. 376.

Οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, γραμματεῖς
καὶ Φαρισαῖοι, ὑποκριταί·
ὅτι ἀποδικοκατοῦτε τὸ
ἥδυσμον, καὶ τὸ ἄγανον,
καὶ τὸ κύμιον·

[Luke xi. 42.

τὸ ἥδυσμον, καὶ τὸ πῆγα-
νον, καὶ πᾶν λάχανον]
καὶ ἀφῆκατε τὰ βαρύτερα
τοῦ νόμου, τὴν κρίσιν, καὶ
τὴν ἔλπιν, καὶ τὴν πίστιν.

[Luke. καὶ περιέχουσιν
τὴν κρίσιν, καὶ τὴν ἀγά-
πην τοῦ Θεοῦ.]

Ὁδοῦν τυφλοὺς, οἱ δι-
λίζοντες τὸν κάσσωπα, τὸν
δὲ κἀμῆλον καταπίνοντες.
v. 27. — ὅτι παρομοιά-
ζει τῶν κικονιζάνων,
οἵτινες ἔξωθεν μὲν φαίνονται
ἀγαθοί, ἔσωθεν δὲ γίμουσιν
δοστῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ πάσης
ἀκαθαρσίας.

Οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, γραμματεῖς
καὶ Φαρισαῖοι, ὑποκρι-
ταί· ὅτι ἀποδικοκατοῦτε

τὸ ἥδυσμον καὶ τὸ
πῆγανον, τὴν δὲ ἀγά-
πην τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ τὴν
κρίσιν οὐ κατανοοῦτε·
τάφου κικονιζάνου,
ἔξωθεν φαίνόμενοι ἀγαθοί,
ἔσωθεν δὲ γίμουσιν
δοστῶν νεκρῶν.

Τάφου κικονιζάνου, ἔξω-
θεν φαίνόμενοι ἀγαθοί, καὶ
ἔσωθεν γίμουσιν δοστῶν
νεκρῶν, τὸ ἥδυσμον
ἀποδικοκατοῦντες, τὴν δὲ
κἀμῆλον καταπίνοντες,
τυφλοὺς ὁδοῦν.

VII.

Matthew xxiv. 11, 24.

Justin, p. 206.

Justin, p. 316.

Καὶ πολλοὶ ψευδοπροφῆ-
ται ἐγερθήσονται, καὶ
πλανήσουσι πολλοὺς.
(v. 24.) Ἐγερθήσονται
γὰρ ψευδόχρισται καὶ
ψευδοπροφῆται, καὶ
δώσουσι σημεῖα μεγάλα
καὶ τέρατα, ὥστε πλανᾶ-

εῖν γὰρ Ἐπι γὰρ
Ἀναστήσονται πολλοὶ
ψευδόχρισται καὶ ψευ-
δοπροφῆται καὶ πολλοὺς
τῶν πιστῶν πλανήσουσιν

Εἴτι γὰρ
ὅτι ψευδοπροφῆται καὶ
ψευδόχρισται πολλοὶ ἐπι-
στῇ ἵστανται αὐτοῦ
κατελιούσονται, καὶ
πολλοὺς πλανήσουσιν

Matthew.

σαι, εἰ δυνατὸν, καὶ τοὺς
ἐκλιπτούς.

Luke xxi. 8.

Πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐλεύσονται
ἐπὶ τῇ ἐνέματί μου,
λέγοντες, ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι.

VIII.

Matth. xxvi. 39.

Πάτερ μου, εἰ δυνατόν
ἔστι, παρελίτω ἀπ' ἐμοῦ
τὸ ποτήριον τούτου.

Justin, p. 351.

Πάτερ, εἰ δυνατόν
ἔστι, παρελίτω τὸ πο-
τήριον τοῦτο ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.

Justin, p. 361.

Παρελίτω, εἰ δυνατόν,
τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο.

IX.

Matth. x. 40.

Ὁ δειχόμενος ὑμῶς, ἐμὲ
δειχίται· καὶ ὁ ἐμὲ
δειχόμενος, δείχνεται τὸν
ἀποστέλλαντά με.

Justin, p. 25.

Ὅς γὰρ ἀκούει μου, καὶ
παύει ἃ λέγω, ἀκούει τοῦ
ἀποστέλλαντός με.

Justin, p. 93.

Ὁ ἐμοῦ ἀκούων, ἀκούει
τοῦ ἀποστέλλαντός με.

Luke x. 16.

Ὁ ἀκούων ὑμῶν, ἐμοῦ
ἀκούει· καὶ ὁ ἀδελτῶν
ὑμῶς, ἐμὲ ἀδελτεῖ· ὁ δὲ ἐμὲ
ἀδελτῶν, ἀδελτεῖ τὸν ἀπο-
στέλλαντά με.

X.

Luke vi. 35, 36.

— ὅτι αὐτοῖς [Θεοῖς]
χρηστοὶ ἔσονται ἐπὶ τοὺς
ἀχαρίστους καὶ πονηροὺς.
Γίνεσθι οἰκτίρμοι, καθὼς
καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ὑμῶν
οἰκτίρμων ἔστι.

Justin, pp. 23, 24.

Γίνεσθι δὲ χρηστοὶ καὶ
οἰκτίρμοι, ὥς καὶ
ὁ Πατὴρ ὑμῶν χρηστός
ἔστι καὶ οἰκτίρμων,

Justin, p. 347.

Γίνεσθι χρηστοὶ καὶ
οἰκτίρμοι, ὥς καὶ
ὁ Πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος·
καὶ γὰρ τὸν παντακρά-
τορα Θεὸν χρηστὸν καὶ

Matthew v. 45.

ὅτι τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ

καὶ τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ

Matthew.	Justin.	Justin.
ἀνατίλλω ἐπὶ πονηροῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ, καὶ βερίχου ἐπὶ δικαίου καὶ ἀδίκου.	ἀνατίλλω ἐπὶ ἀμαρτω- λοῦ καὶ δικαίου καὶ πονηροῦ.	οἰκτίρμονα ἰεῶν, τὸν ἤλυσεν αὐτοῦ ἀνατίλλοντα ἐπὶ ἀχαρίστους καὶ δικαίους, καὶ βερίχοντα ἐπὶ ὀπίους καὶ πονηροῦς.

SECTION IV.

*On the Coincidences between Justin and the Greek Gospel
of Matthew, in Deviations from the Text of the Sep-
tuagint.*

It has been remarked, that Justin's use of the Gospels, and more particularly of the Greek Gospel of Matthew, is shown by the fact, that his citations from the Old Testament are, some of them, to all appearance, borrowed from that Gospel; being conformed to the words there found, when these words differ from those both of the Septuagint and the Hebrew.* Of this, two examples have been already given in Section Second, numbers IV. and VIII. The following are of the same kind.

Jeremiah xxxviii. 15, ap. LXX.
xxxi. 15, Hebr.

Justin, p. 307.

Φωνὴ ἐν Ῥαμᾷ ἠκούσθη,
θρήνου, καὶ κλαυθμοῦ, καὶ ὀδυρμοῦ.
Ῥαχὴλ ἀποκλαιομένη ἐπὶ τῶν υἱῶν
αὐτῆς, καὶ οὐκ ἤθελε παρακληθῆναι
ἐπὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτῆς, ὅτι οὐκ εἰσίν.

Φωνὴ ἐν Ῥαμᾷ ἠκούσθη,
κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὀδυρμὸς πολὺς.
Ῥαχὴλ κλαίονσα τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς,
καὶ οὐκ ἤθελε παρακληθῆναι,
ὅτι οὐκ εἰσίν.

Justin agrees verbally with the quotation, Matthew ii. 18, except that there, in the Received Text, *θρήνος καὶ* is

* See p. 224.

inserted before *κλανθμός*; but those words Griesbach marks as probably spurious.

The passage, Isaiah xlii. 1-4, is twice quoted by Justin; it is also quoted by Matthew, xii. 18-21, with much variation from the Septuagint. The passage, as first quoted by Justin (p. 403), is given with variations belonging to Matthew as follows;

Septuagint.	Matthew and Justin.
— ἴδωκα τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐπ’ αὐτόν·	— ἦλθον ἐπὶ πνεῦμά μου ἐπ’ αὐτόν·
— οὐ κικράξεται, οὐδὲ, ἀθήσει οὐδὲ ἀκουσθήσεται ἔξω ἢ φωνὴ αὐτοῦ.	— οὐκ ἐξίσυ, οὔτε κράξω, [Matthew has οὐδὲ κραυγάζει] οὔτε ἀκούσεται τις [Matthew, οὐδὲ ἀκούσει τις] ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις τὴν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ.
Κάλαμοι συντιθλάσμενοι οὐ συντρί- ψυ, καὶ λίνοι κακηνύζομενοι οὐ σβίσου.	Κάλαμοι συντιτριμμένοι οὐ κακτιάξω, καὶ λίνοι τυφόμενοι οὐ μὴ [Matthew has not μὴ] σβίσου.

What renders this coincidence with Matthew more remarkable is, that it disappears when Justin repeats the quotation (p. 425), except in the single instance of the word *τυφόμενον*. When Justin made his first citation, we may suppose, that he quoted from memory, and that the words of the evangelist recurred to him more readily than those of the Septuagint.

SECTION V.

On the Quotations of the Fathers generally.

WHEN it is argued, that Justin Martyr did not quote our present Gospels, because his quotations do not, for the most part, coincide verbally with their contents, it is implied, that there is a specific difference in this respect between him and other fathers whose use of the Gospels is undisputed. It is true, that, as a general characteristic, the later fathers do not quote so loosely as Justin. The circumstances under which he wrote, that have been formerly pointed out,* must have led him to regard a strict adherence to the very words of any particular evangelist as wholly unimportant. In proportion, likewise, as, after his time, the Gospels, in common with the other books of the New Testament, became objects of more critical study, as controversies were to be settled and doctrines were to be defined by their authority, so would the custom become more prevalent of adhering to the exact expressions of some one of them in quoting. But there is no such difference of character between Justin's quotations and those of his successors as to afford any ground for supposing, that they made use of different Gospels. An incorrect assumption of greater accuracy than exists in the quotations of the fathers, has in this and other cases given occasion to errors and false hypotheses. It has affected the criticism of the text of the New Testament; and, what is of more importance, on the loose citations of other earlier writers beside Justin Martyr, have been founded

* See particularly, pp. 201, 202.

hypotheses respecting other gospels, beside his *Memorabilia*, imagined to be different from, though nearly allied to, our present Gospels; such, for instance, as certain Gospels used by the Apostolic Fathers, so called, for the former existence of which Eichhorn contends.*

On the subject of the quotations of the fathers, I have already made some remarks; and have stated the fact, that verbal accuracy is to be confidently expected only within narrow limits, and under conditions that do not apply to the quotations of Justin. I have likewise referred to several works in which this fact is illustrated.† But I have thought it might be worth while to add the testimony of the three last principal editors of the New Testament, Griesbach, Matthæi, and Scholz, and of Eichhorn himself.

Griesbach says of Origen, on whose quotations he so much relies, that “in the same work, at the distance of a few pages, he sometimes quotes the same passage from the New Testament in a different manner”; and that the same uncertainty in his quotations appears, as might be expected, in his different works, when compared together.‡ “I freely admit,” he says, “that Origen did not always examine his manuscript when he was about to quote a passage from Scripture, but sometimes trusted to his memory, whence, throughout his works, the construction of passages is altered; one synonymous word is substituted for another; articles, particles, and prepositions are omitted, with other similar changes, that for the most part do not affect the sense. I admit further, that it was not always his purpose to adduce the very words and syllables of a passage, but that,

* Einleit. in d. N. T. I. 113, seqq. † See p. 195, seqq.

‡ *Dissertatio de Codd. Origenianis*, published in his *Opuscula Academica*, I. 244, seqq.

according to the object he had in view, he sometimes altered, omitted, or added, or even expressed the sense only of the sacred writer, in his own style and words." *

I have already quoted a passage † in which Griesbach says of another of his principal Alexandrine authorities, Clement, that "he not unfrequently cites from memory, and gives rather the sense than the words of the sacred writers." Matthæi, after adducing one example in which Clement has blended together incorrectly the words of two different verses, ‡ says, that there are a thousand other similar passages in his writings; and adds (alluding to Griesbach); "When I say a *thousand*, I speak not from conjecture, as others do who make him a chief authority of the Alexandrine recension, but from well-grounded knowledge." ||

Matthæi observes, that those quotations of the Greek fathers are most to be regarded, which are to be found in their commentaries; but affirms, that, when these are appended to the original Text, the readings found in the commentary not unfrequently differ from those of the Text. He says, that Origen often arbitrarily alters passages to conform them to his fanciful expositions; and that Chrysostom repeats the same passage several times with different variations in a single Homily. Of quotations found in other writings than professed commentaries, he says, that, as far as he is acquainted with them, "the Greek fathers, generally and particularly, used little or no care to quote passages of the New Testament, as they found them in their manuscripts; hence it is common for them to be

* *Commentarius Criticus*, Partic. II. p. xxvi.

† See p. 196. ‡ The passage noticed on p. 105.

|| Ueber die sogenannten Recensionen, u. s. f. "Upon the Recensions, so called, of the Text of the N. T.," p. 8.

inconsistent with themselves; and they also quote the same passage falsely in different places, either through accident or design." *

Scholz says; "The fathers were accustomed to quote the Scriptures from memory, without inspecting their manuscripts, so that we can very seldom be certain whether their citations faithfully represent the text of those manuscripts, or whether the various readings found in their works owed their origin to lapses of memory and indolence. Sometimes they compress a long passage, sometimes paraphrase a short one, and sometimes give the meaning rather than the precise words of a passage, as it occurred to their recollection, in a form adapted to the occasion; so that they quote the same passage differently in different places." †

In treating of the criticism of the text of the New Testament, Eichhorn says; "Concerning the value and trustworthiness of the quotations of the fathers, many doubts arise. Did not *the Church* ‡ designedly alter many passa-

* Ibid. p. 45.

† Prolegomena in N. T. p. cxxxv. See also what follows.

‡ *The Church* is a personified abstract idea, which Eichhorn, as we have had occasion to remark before (see p. 37.), and other German critics have regarded as acting very injudiciously in early times. He points out some of the intentional omissions which he supposes it to have made in the text of the New Testament, in the fourth volume of his Introduction, p. 209, seqq., to which place he refers in illustration of the remark above quoted; but, with reference to one of them, he cites a passage which shows how little such alterations were countenanced by those of highest authority among Christians. The name "Jeremiah," Matthew xxvii. 9, was omitted (not indeed by the Church, as Eichhorn implies, but by some few copyists), because the passage there found is not taken from Jeremiah; upon which, Augustine (as quoted by Eichhorn) remarks: "There was no motive [that is, copyists could have had no motive]

ges to conform them to orthodoxy, and have not the fathers adopted such alterations? Do not the fathers often quote the same passage differently in different parts of their works? In their citations, do they not regard the sense more than the words? Hence, do they not often paraphrase the passage which it is their purpose to adduce? Do they not often trust to their memory in quoting? And did not this habit often lead them to blend together different passages and combine them into one? Certainly, these are facts which cannot be denied; but, still, the quotations of the fathers are not all without use in the criticism of the text."†

After what has been already said, I should hardly have thought it worth while to adduce this evidence in order further to show, that Justin's want of verbal accuracy in quoting affords no proof that he did not quote our present Gospels. But I have been induced to do so, because the facts stated are, as I have remarked, important in their bearing upon other subjects connected with our general inquiry.

for adding the name, so as to produce a false reference; but there was a cause for its omission in some manuscripts, that is, a daring want of judgment, in order to get rid of the difficulty, that this testimony is not found in Jeremiah." Eichhorn admits that the corruptions made by the Church were not great in amount; Band V. p. 123.

† Einleit. in d. N. T. Band V. pp. 127, 123.

SECTION VI.

Remarks on a New Hypothesis respecting the Quotations of Justin Martyr.

IN concluding this note, I have, with some hesitation, determined to remark particularly on a new hypothesis respecting the quotations of Justin, advanced by a German theologian, Credner, Professor of Theology at Giessen, in the first volume of a work entitled "Contributions toward an Introduction to the Biblical Writings," published at Halle in 1832. In discussing subjects in a work like the present, the course which it is in general proper to pursue, is to state the facts concerning them, and to reason from those facts, with as little direct reference as may be, to the perishable opinions of individual writers. I have been led to deviate from this course in the present instance, for the following reasons. Credner has treated the subject of Justin's quotations at much length, and his book has obtained some celebrity in Germany, and even in this country. Having been so lately published, it did not come to my hands in sufficient season to enable me to interweave such indirect notices of it in the preceding argument as might alone have been sufficient; and, under these circumstances, I was unwilling to appear to leave the discussion of the subject incomplete, or embarrassed by any doubts that it was in my power to remove. Credner's work, likewise, belongs to a numerous class among the productions of his countrymen, of which, even in reference to our general object, it may be desirable to exhibit a specimen.

His views, then, are as follows.

Among the apocryphal books mentioned by ancient writers, was one called the "Gospel of Peter," written in Greek. This book Credner supposes to have been a history of Christ's ministry, or a gospel in our sense of the term; and maintains, that this gospel, existing in different forms, or this gospel with others allied to and founded upon it, was in general use among the Jewish Christians after the destruction of Jerusalem. He conceives that the gospel or gospels of the Hellenists were in the Greek language, in which they were originally written; but that the gospel most in use among the Hellenists was translated into Hebrew for the use of those Jewish Christians to whom that language alone was familiar, additions being at the same time made to it, and it being afterwards so altered that it existed in different forms. The fathers, according to him, mistook this Hebrew translation for their supposed Hebrew original of Matthew's Gospel, and improperly named it the "Gospel according to the Hebrews."

Credner nowhere gives a clear and connected view of his notions concerning the Jewish gospel or gospels. They are to be gathered from passages scattered here and there through his book, often obscurely expressed, and some of them verbally contradictory to others. In the account that has been given, which, of consequence, is rather indefinite, it has been my object to state what may be called the average of his opinions.

These opinions, however, it is necessary to notice only incidentally. Enough has been and will be said to enable one to form a correct judgment concerning them. What is now particularly to be attended to is his hypothesis concerning the quotations of Justin Martyr.

According to Credner, the Gospel of Peter, in one of its forms, was the history of Christ used by Justin as his prin-

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cial authority, and the remains of the original work are preserved in his quotations in their purest state.*

In judging of such an hypothesis, it is not necessary to enter into a detailed examination of it. The plausibility with which it is capable of being defended, may be determined by a few facts.

I. In the first place, the Gospel of Peter is lost; and there is not an extract remaining professedly taken from it. No writer professes to quote it as of authority.† It is not affirmed of Justin nor of any other writer, that he did so quote it; nor is there any proof that it was extant during the time of Justin, the first known mention of it being by Serapion, about thirty years after Justin's death. Nothing, therefore, can well carry on its face more appearance, not of a paradox, but of absurdity, than to maintain, that numerous quotations are taken from a book, which it cannot be proved was extant in the time of the writer supposed to quote it, from which they are not professedly taken, from which no succeeding writer affirms or intimates that they were taken, and of which book we do not possess an ascertained fragment to afford ground for a comparison with those quotations.

II. There is no probability, that the work called the Gospel of Peter was a history of Christ's ministry; for the name *gospel* was given in ancient times, as it has been in modern, to works which were not histories of his ministry.‡ On the contrary, the only writer, Serapion, who mentions it at any length (and whose mention of it Credner regards as

* Beiträge, p. 260, seqq.; pp. 330, 331; p. 413, &c.

† I shall hereafter notice a contrary assertion of Credner respecting Justin.

‡ This fact I shall have occasion to illustrate more particularly in the Third Part of this work, contained in the next volume.

the principal passage respecting it *), speaks of it in such a manner as to leave no reasonable doubt, that it was not an historical book. Serapion, bishop of Antioch, about the close of the second century, wrote a tract concerning it, not now extant, but a passage from which is thus quoted by Eusebius. †

“Another tract,” says Eusebius, “was composed by Serapion concerning the Gospel according to Peter, so called, the object of which was to confute the errors contained in it, on account of some in the church at Rhossus, who had been led by this book to adopt heterodox opinions. From this it may be worth while to quote a few words in which he expresses his opinion concerning it. ‘We brethren,’ he writes, ‘acknowledge the authority both of Peter and the other apostles as we do that of Christ; but we reject, with good reason, the writings which falsely bear their names, well knowing that such have not been handed down to us. I indeed, when I was with you, supposed that you were all going on in a right faith, and not reading through the gospel under the name of Peter which was produced by them [those who were pleased with it], I said, If this is all which troubles you, let the book be read. But having since learnt from what has been told me, that their minds had fallen into some heresy, I hasten to be with you again, brethren, so that you may expect me shortly. Now we, brethren, know that a like heresy was held by Marcion, who also contradicted himself, not comprehending what he said, as you may learn from what has been written to you. ‡

* Beitrage, p. 348.

† Hist. Eccles. Lib. VI. c. 12.

‡ As this sentence is unimportant, and as I believe the present text to be corrupt, I have ventured to render it as perhaps it should be amended. It now stands thus; ‘*Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀδελφοί, καταλαβόμενοι*

For we have been able to procure this 'gospel from others who use it, that is, from those of his followers who are called *Docetæ* (for the greater part of the opinions in question belong to their system), and having gone through it, we have found it for the most part conformable to the true doctrine of the Saviour; but there are some things exceptionable,* which we subjoin for your information.'"

We may conclude from this account, that the Gospel of Peter was not a history of Christ's ministry. Serapion would not have regarded with such indifference, as he first manifested, a history of his Lord, ascribed to the apostle Peter, which he had not before seen. Were it genuine, it must have been to him, as to any one else, an object of great interest. But the supposition of its genuineness is too extravagant to require discussion. — Was it, then, an original history, (that is to say, not a compilation from any one or more of the four Gospels,) which, though not the work of Peter, was yet entitled to credit? It is impossible that the existence of such a history should not have been notorious; that it should not have been a frequent subject of remark; that it should have been unknown to Serapion, himself a bishop and a controversial writer; or, even if previously unknown, that it should not at once have excited his attention. — May we then suppose it a history founded

ὁμοίως ἦν αἰρέσις ὁ Μαρκιανός, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἠσαντιῶτο, καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἡ δόξα, αὐτοῦ ἡ δόξα ἐκ τῶν ὁμῶν ἰσχυρῶς. Ἐδυνάσθημεν γὰρ παρ' ἄλλων, κ. τ. λ. I would read the first words as follows; 'Ἡμεῖς δὲ, ἀδελφοί, καταλέγομεν ὅτι ὁμοίως ἦν αἰρέσις ὁ Μαρκίαν, ὅς καὶ αὐτοῦ ἠσαντιῶτο, κ. τ. λ.

There is also some uncertainty about the precise meaning of the next sentence; but, fortunately, this uncertainty does not extend to any thing important in the paragraph.

* τὰ μὲν πλείονα τοῦ ἑβραίου λόγου τοῦ Σωτῆρος, τινὰ δὲ προσωποποιήματα.

upon one or more of the four Gospels with certain additions favoring the opinions of the Docetæ? If so, it serves to confirm the authenticity and genuineness of the Gospel or Gospels from which it was principally derived. But when we recollect the abundant notices of Marcion's gospel, which was only a mutilated copy of Luke's,* it cannot be supposed that there was another historical book extant among Marcion's followers of a similar character (except that it contained some obnoxious additions), of which the notices are so scanty, and which is never mentioned as an *historical* book. — There is another supposition; it may have been a history undeserving of credit, a history containing many fabulous accounts. But this is inconsistent with the manner in which Serapion speaks of it; for he mentions it with but slight censure, commending the generality of its contents; as no catholic writer of his time would have spoken of such a professed history of Christ's ministry as we have last imagined. — It was, then, not an *historical* book; and this appears not merely from what has been said, but from the fact, that neither Serapion nor Eusebius gives any intimation that it bore that character. Serapion's treatise was in the hands of Eusebius, as it probably had been in those of many before him. It treated of the errors in the book, it was written to refute them; and, had these errors consisted in false narratives concerning Christ, there is no reasonable doubt that plenary evidence of the fact would have existed both in the writings of Serapion and Eusebius, and in those of other fathers. It appears that it was used by the Gnostics, and, had it been a professed history of Christ's ministry, used by them, we should certainly have had much more full information con-

* This fact is admitted by Credner, pp. 42, 43.

cerning it. The supposition, that it was not an historical book, and this alone, it may be further observed, agrees with the manner in which Serapion describes it, as "for the most part conformable to the true doctrine" (not the true history) "of the Saviour, but containing some things exceptionable."

III. The Gospel of Peter, then, was not an historical gospel, nor, it may be added, was it a book of any importance or notoriety; and, consequently, it is impossible it should have been the book used by Justin as his principal authority for the history of Christ. Beside the notice of it by Serapion, we find the following passage in Origen; "Some say that the brothers of Jesus were the sons of Joseph by a wife to whom he was married before Mary, relying upon the tradition in the Gospel according to Peter or the book of James."* It is doubtful, however, whether Origen refers to the same book as Serapion.† But the latter book, there is no doubt, was referred to by Eusebius and Jerome, who mention it as an apocryphal work falsely ascribed to Peter. Eusebius especially enumerates it among those books which were brought forward by the heretics under the names of apostles; such as no ecclesiastical writer had thought worth commemorating, they being altogether devoid

* Comment. in Matth. Tom. X. Opp. III. 462, 463.

† There is reason to believe, that one of what are called the "Gospels of the Infancy," (fabulous books concerning the infancy and childhood of Christ,) passed in the East under the name of Peter. See Fabricii Codex Apocryphus N. T., Tom. I. pp. 153, 154. This, one may suspect to be the book meant by Origen; partly from its mention in connexion with the "book of James," by which I suppose to be intended the Protevangelion of James, a work of the same class, still extant.

of good sense and piety. * These are all the notices of it found in the first four centuries.

Serapion, bishop of Antioch, in his time the principal see in the East, was, as we have seen, unacquainted with the Gospel of Peter till his attention was called to it by some Christians of his diocese as favoring heretical doctrines. We may conclude, therefore, that it was a book unknown to a great majority of Christians, his contemporaries. But Justin Martyr was the most conspicuous writer of the age immediately preceding, the first Christian writer of eminence after the apostles, whose works have come down to us. He was well known and highly honored by his successors as a public defender of our religion, who had sealed his testimony to it with his blood. The *books*, not book, to which he appeals, he says were read on Sunday throughout the public assemblies of Christians; † as they are at the present day. The supposition, therefore, that the gospel principally quoted by him should have been unknown to Serapion and to a great majority of Christians of the age immediately following his own, is utterly incredible; — so incredible, that the direct testimony of Eusebius, who states that no ecclesiastical writer, among the ancients or his contemporaries, had quoted the Gospel of Peter as a work of authority, ‡ scarcely adds to the evidence that it was not so quoted by Justin.

IV. Against the supposition of Credner, it may seem useless to urge further objections, however decisive. But it perhaps deserves observation, that a writer accustomed to note the bearing of one thing upon another, would at once have perceived, that, in maintaining it, he must admit the

* *ἅπαντα πάντα καὶ διδασκαλῶν.* Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. c. 25.

† See before, p. 187.

‡ Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. c. 3.

truth of one of two propositions, and defend it as probable. Either, on the one hand, Justin believed the book in question to have been written by Peter, or at least to have been sanctioned by him; or, on the other hand, he believed it to be a supposititious work, while at the same time he preferred to use it as his principal authority, though he was acquainted, as Credner admits, with our Gospels.* To an intelligent reader, either branch of this alternative must present insuperable difficulties. Yet Credner does not explain himself on the subject, and makes no attempt to remove them.

V. Again, the most important and almost the only fact of which we are directly informed respecting the Gospel of Peter is, that it was used by some of the Docetæ who were followers of Marcion, as favoring their opinions. But Justin wrote expressly against the Marcionites, and regarded their doctrines with strong dislike, as appears from passages still extant in his works. It is a most extravagant supposition, therefore, that this gospel was preferred by him as his principal authority, and was likewise the favorite gospel of the Jewish Christians, whose distinguishing opinions were directly opposite to those of the Marcionites.

BUT how, it may be asked, is such an hypothesis as we have been considering defended? One may reasonably be curious to know what answer is to be given to this question, and, fortunately, a fair view of the arguments of its author may be presented in a narrow compass.

In the first place, Credner says: "Many of Justin's quotations admit of being referred to our Gospels only by supposing an extraordinary party-colored mixture of the

* Beiträge, pp. 131, 133, 258, &c.

text of different Gospels ; others, instead of the words alleged from the Gospels, must be regarded as giving merely an abstract to the same effect. Such a procedure is not conformable to the intellectual habits of antiquity."*

That is, Justin did not quote our present Gospels, because, if he did, he must sometimes have blended together passages from different Gospels, and at other times have given the sense only, and not the words of a passage. But, as has been already shown,† there is nothing to render it improbable beforehand, that Justin would so quote the Gospels ; and the remark implies entire ignorance or forgetfulness of the manner in which he has quoted the Septuagint and profane authors, as illustrated in the second section of this Note and before in the Text.‡ As regards the concluding observation of Credner, enough has been already said concerning the character of the quotations of the fathers and of the ancients generally.

II. Credner's next argument is, that the quotations of Justin could not have been taken from our Gospels in cases where we find the variations of Justin in other writers, unconnected with him, "and especially when it is expressly remarked of those writers, that their quotations were derived from other sources than our Gospels." ||

The last remark, turned into a direct proposition, is this : "It has been expressly remarked of other writers who coincide with Justin in certain variations from our Gospels, that their quotations were derived from other sources than our Gospels." Of this proposition Credner produces no evidence, and there is none to be produced. He quotes Irenæus as if that writer had said, that two of the varia-

* Beiträge, p. 209.

† See particularly pp. 201, 202.

‡ See pp. 198, 199.

|| Beiträge, p. 210.

tions found in Justin were also found in a peculiar gospel used by a Gnostic sect, called the Marcosians. But Irenæus does not say so. On the contrary, in giving the passages used by the Marcosians with those variations, he speaks of them as taken from the four Gospels.* After mentioning the use made of apocryphal books by that sect, he adds; "They also conform passages in the Gospel [that is, in the four Gospels] to their scheme"; and then quotes several of these passages,† with their expositions of them, two of which,

* Contra Hæres. Lib. I. cap. 20.

† Among these quotations of Irenæus there is, however, one which it has been supposed must have been taken from some gospel in use among the Marcosians, and not from the Gospels generally received, because, as his text now stands, nothing corresponding to it is found in the latter. According to the present reading in Irenæus, he represents the Marcosians as quoting the following, as a saying of Christ; Πολλὰκις ἐπιθύμησα ἀκοῦσαι Ἰησὺ τῶν λόγων τούτων, καὶ οὐκ ἔσχον τὸν ἱεῶντα· ἐμφαίνοντίς, φασί, διὸν [ἰ. ἰναί], διὰ τοῦ ἰνὸς τὸν κληῶν Ἰησὺς Θεὸν, ἐν οὐκ ἔγνωκυσαν. "I have often desired to hear one of these words, and have not had him who speaks them;— by which term one, they say that Christ signified the one true God, whom they had not known." The whole sentence, taken together, presents no meaning, and, so far as any meaning can be discovered in the words ascribed to Christ, it has no relation to the opinions of the Marcosians, or any other Gnostics. Perhaps the passage should be read thus: Πολλὰκις καὶ ἐπιθύμησαν ἀκοῦσαι Ἰησὺ τῶν λόγων τούτων, καὶ οὐκ ἔσχον τὸν ἱεῶντα· ἐμφαίνοντίς, φασί, ἰναί, διὰ τοῦ ἰεσοῦτος τὸν κληῶν Ἰησὺς Θεὸν, κ. τ. λ. That is, "Many have desired to hear one of these words, and have not had him who speaks them;—signifying, they say, by him who speaks them, the one true God, whom they had not known." If the passage be thus read, the reference will be to Matthew, xiii. 17. (Luke x. 24.) "Many prophets and righteous men have desired to see what ye see, and have not seen; and to hear what ye hear, and have not heard;"—a passage to which the Gnostics could hardly fail to appeal, as proving their doctrine, that the Supreme God had been unknown to all men, to the Jews as well as Gentiles, before the coming of Christ.

in unimportant variations, not affecting the sense, correspond with variations of Justin. A "Gospel of the Marcosians," of which Credner repeatedly speaks, is not mentioned either by Irenæus or any other ancient writer.

III. Justin, continues Credner, could not have taken his history of the nativity of Jesus from our Gospels, because they, unsuitably enough, ground their proof of the descent of Jesus from David upon the circumstance, that Joseph, whom they represent as not being his father, was a descendant of David; while Justin, on the contrary, establishes it in a proper manner by representing Mary as a descendant of David.*

Respecting this argument it is only necessary to observe, that Mary was generally considered, by the ancients, as a descendant of David. Irenæus maintains, that the prophecies concerning Christ would not have been fulfilled, had he not been born of a *female* descendant, a virgin, of the house of David;† and Tertullian affirms, that Christ was to be reckoned of the race of Jesse through Mary.‡ As, then, it will not be pretended that either Irenæus, or Tertullian, or the subsequent fathers who agreed with them, used any other gospel beside our four Gospels as their principal authority, we cannot draw this inference respecting Justin on account of his agreeing likewise with the common opinion of antiquity respecting the descent of Mary.

IV. Justin, it is further said, repeats expressions varying from the text of our present Gospels, which shows that he quoted some other gospel not now known to us. ||

For example, he speaks repeatedly of the Magi, represented in the first two chapters of our present Gospel of

* Beiträge, pp. 212, 213.

† Contra Hæres. Lib. III. c. 21, § 5.

‡ Advers. Judæos, c. 9.

|| Beiträge, p. 214.

Matthew as coming from the East, under the designation of Magi from Arabia. The other instances are of similar importance.

That one, who has fixed in his mind, by accident or design, a variation of a particular passage, will repeat this variation when he quotes the passage, is all but an identical proposition, and that such variations do become fixed in the mind is a matter of constant experience. The Magi in question have commonly been regarded as Magi from Arabia by those who have received the first two chapters of Matthew as genuine.

I pass on, omitting remarks, that, perhaps, deserve as much consideration as those I have quoted, to come to the proof of the proposition, that Justin used the Gospel of Peter as his principal authority.

There is a work called the "Clementine Homilies," or the "Clementines," the author of which is unknown. The time of its composition is likewise uncertain; but, judging from the fact, that, though its contents are such as would have been likely to attract the attention of Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, it is yet not noticed by any one of them, and, from other considerations, it probably was not written before, or much before, the end of the second century. It is remarkable as an ancient work of fiction, resembling a modern romance. It is written in the form of an autobiography of an individual bearing the name of Clement. Clement represents himself as having been converted to Christianity by the preaching of Barnabas and Peter, and as having been present at many discourses of the latter, particularly with Simon Magus, who was represented by the writers against the Gnostics as the founder of their heresy. In these discourses, Peter, conformably to the fiction, is introduced as quoting from mem-

ory the words of our Lord. In general, the sayings ascribed to Jesus correspond with passages in the Gospels, or are apparently founded upon them. In a few instances the author appears to have altered the language of the Gospels in order to make it express his own meaning more explicitly, or to have given, in his own words, the sense of what he supposed Jesus to have taught, blended with inferences of his own.

It is the opinion of Credner, however, that the sayings ascribed to Jesus in the Clementines were taken from the Gospel of Peter; an opinion, which he maintains principally by assertions, apparently founded on his own personal knowledge of facts in the early history of Christianity. Proceeding upon this opinion, he concludes that Justin also made use of the Gospel of Peter, because in five passages his variations from the text of our Gospels correspond with variations found in the Clementines, and because there is a striking general resemblance between his quotations and those of that work.*

It is not necessary to remark particularly upon the variations specified by Credner. In order to give any countenance to his hypothesis, they should be peculiar to Justin and the author of the Clementines, with such other writer or writers as may be classed with them, and particularly should not be found in writers who undoubtedly used the Gospels as their principal or sole authority. They should further be of so remarkable a character as to carry with them internal evidence of being quoted from *some* apocryphal history of Christ. Neither of these conditions is fulfilled. The variations are all trivial, differing from the words only and not the sense of the Gospels; the greater

* Beiträge, pp. 210 - 212; p. 261, seqq.; pp. 330 - 332, &c.

part are not peculiar to Justin and the author of the Clementines, but common to them with other writers (as Clement and Origen, for example), who cannot be supposed to have quoted them from the Gospel of Peter; and there is not one of them, the character of which affords the least ground for suspecting, that it was taken from any apocryphal book.

The general resemblance of Justin and the author of the Clementines in their quotations amounts to nothing more than that they both quoted loosely, blending together expressions from different evangelists. In the aggregate of those quotations in which they agree in sense, they differ from each other in words as much as either of them does from the text of the Gospels.

But Credner has another argument. Once, according to him, "Justin expressly mentions the source from which he drew as a *Petrinian* gospel," and he asserts, that when we view this plain reference of Justin to the Gospel of Peter, in connexion with the other arguments he himself has urged, "there is no room for doubt, that the gospel from which Justin took the greater part of his quotations, was the Gospel of Peter." *

We have already had occasion to notice the passage of Justin, referred to by Credner; and have concluded, that the work meant by Justin, under the title of "*Peter's Memoirs*," that is, of Christ, was the Gospel of Mark, † of which the ancients regarded Peter as virtually the author; conformably to an observation of Tertullian, who says, that "the Gospel published by Mark may be asserted to be Peter's, whose interpreter Mark was." ‡ Credner, on the contrary, supposes Justin to have intended the apocryphal

* Beiträge, p. 260; pp. 265, 266; p. 132, note 2.

† See before, pp. 192, 193; p. 231.

‡ Advers. Marc. Lib. IV. c. 5.

Gospel of Peter, and regards the passage as affording decisive proof, that this was the book which he used as his principal authority for the history of Christ. If, however, Credner's supposition were true, that the Gospel of Peter is referred to, the passage would directly prove the contrary to what he imagines.

Justin often refers to the Memoirs by the Apostles as his authority for what he asserts concerning Christ. He refers to them but a few lines before his single reference to Peter's Memoirs. By this, therefore, he must have intended one of two things, either, as we believe, to discriminate Peter's Memoirs as one among those books to which he gave the general title, Memoirs by the Apostles, or to distinguish it from those Memoirs as not of their number. Either, in this single passage, he has appealed *particularly* to this book, because it contained something which he did not find mentioned in common in any of his other authorities; which would be the case if these were the other three Gospels, and the book in question the Gospel of Mark; or he has here appealed to it for the only time in contradistinction to those histories which were his main authority. In the former case, it was only one of his authorities, which he nowhere else found occasion particularly to quote; in the latter case, it was not the authority on which he usually relied, but the contrary.

But, it may be said, that, if Justin did not use the Gospel of Peter as his principal authority, he may still have referred to it in this particular passage, and not to the Gospel of Mark. The question, whether Justin has once quoted the Gospel of Peter is of little importance. Other fathers sometimes quoted apocryphal books; for the mere circumstance that a book was apocryphal, did not of itself imply that it was destitute of all worth and credit. But

the question is to be decided by the arguments that have been adduced to show, that Justin relied on the authority of the four Gospels, and by the consideration, that the Gospel of Mark was regarded as virtually a Gospel by Peter, and is the only book known to contain a record of both the facts for which Justin cites some book as his authority; while, on the other hand, there is no proof that the apocryphal Gospel of Peter was extant in the time of Justin, or that it contained any mention of those facts; there is a strong probability that it was not an historical gospel; and it is very unlikely, from its favoring the opinions of the Docetæ, and from the manner in which it is spoken of by later fathers, that it would have been regarded with any favor by Justin, supposing him to have seen it.

It is not merely to illustrate the character of a particular writer, but as a specimen of a style of assertion and reasoning, which has become common among many of the theologians of Germany, that I quote a few words more from Credner in relation to this subject. "The custom," he says, "of speaking of the Gospel of Mark as the Gospel of Peter could have prevailed only after the pretended genuine Gospel of Peter was rejected as an apocryphal gospel. And, perhaps, it was in compensation for the loss of this rejected Gospel of Peter, that the Gospel of Mark, as his better representative, was received into the canon. The Christians were not willing to be deprived of the Gospel of Peter. In order to indemnify and quiet them, the Gospel of Mark was tendered them as a genuine Petrinian Gospel; and thus this Gospel, though it contains scarcely any new information, obtained admission into the canon." * Who it was that deprived the Christians of one of their Gospels,

* Beiträge, p. 260.

and then, to appease their discontent, tendered them the Gospel of Mark in its stead, is not said by Credner. But we may conclude, that it must have been *the Church*.

THE admissions of a writer like Credner are of little more worth than his assertions; but it may be mentioned, that, according to him, it cannot be denied that Justin was acquainted with our Gospels, at least with the first three Gospels; so that in one place he has cited Matthew, and in another referred to Mark and Luke; * and that commonly, if not always, he quoted the gospel or gospels, which he used, loosely, from memory. † To this he adds, that the gospel principally used by Justin "was nearly allied to our Gospels, especially to the first three, and more particularly to that of Matthew in contents and language, and might pass at first sight for a harmony of them;" ‡ and elsewhere, that it was "a gospel nearly allied to our Gospel of Matthew, but not the same." || He who is only seeking after truth, and believes the first two propositions, and the facts implied in the last, will, I think, have no difficulty in satisfying himself that Justin quoted our Gospels.

ON the hypothesis of Credner, that the gospel of Peter, in some one or other of its forms, was identical with the gospel generally used by the Jewish Christians, and was, in its Hebrew translation, called the Gospel of the Hebrews, it is not here the place particularly to remark, nor should I, in any case, think it necessary to do so. I will only advert to a passage of Theodoret (a writer of the

* Beiträge, pp. 131 - 133, 258.

† Ib. p. 209.

‡ Ib. p. 259.

|| Ib. p. 384.

fifth century), on which Credner repeatedly insists, and which, according to him, "stamps the seal of certainty" upon his hypothesis.*

In a former Note† I have endeavoured to show, that the Jewish Christians, considered as an heretical sect, used the original of the Gospel of Matthew in a pure or corrupted form. Theodoret is a later writer than any whom I thought it necessary there to quote. In his work on the heretics, he speaks of the Ebionites, whom he describes, as they are described by all the earlier fathers before Epiphanius. Those fathers, as has been remarked, designated by this name the whole body of Jewish Christians, considered as an heretical sect. Like them, Theodoret divides the Ebionites into two classes, the principal distinction between which is represented to have been, that one class believed, and the other disbelieved, the miraculous conception. The former class, he says, used *only* the Gospel of Matthew, the latter the Gospel of the Hebrews *alone*, which, if our former reasoning be correct, was the Gospel of Matthew in a corrupted form.

Theodoret, having spoken of the Ebionites, begins his next chapter with a sentence respecting some whom he calls Nazarenes, to this effect; "The Nazarenes are Jews, who honor Christ as a righteous man, and use what is called the 'Gospel according to Peter.'"‡

This passage is repeatedly quoted by Credner, as proving that the Jewish Christians generally used the Gospel of Peter. He does not mention the statement of Theodoret, that the Ebionites used either the Gospel of Matthew or the Gospel according to the Hebrews. On the contrary, he

* Beiträge, p. 331. See also pp. 348, 412, 414.

† See p. xlvii. seqq.

‡ Theodreti Hæreticæ Fabulæ, Lib. II. capp. 1, 2. Opp. V. 218, 219. ed. Sirmond.

speaks of "Theodoret's remark that the Gospel of Peter was used by the Ebionites." *

But there is no question, that Theodoret, under the name of Ebionites, speaks of the same body of men to whom the earlier fathers applied the name, that is, the sect of Jewish Christians in general. From these, or among these, he separates, or particularizes, those whom he calls Nazarenes, distinguishing them, however, in no other way than as using the Gospel according to Peter. Most writers who have noticed the passage have thought him in error in giving this account. But, supposing that he were not, it is obvious that his testimony bears expressly against the propositions which it is brought to establish. Some Jewish Christians, according to him, used the Gospel of Peter, and were in this respect distinguished from the generality who did not, but who, on the contrary, used only the Gospel of Matthew, or the Gospel according to the Hebrews. From these books, therefore, the Gospel of Peter is, in the clearest manner, discriminated by him as a different work. Yet, such being the state of facts, his testimony is adduced by Credner, to prove that the Gospel of Peter was the same work which the other fathers erroneously called the Gospel of the Hebrews, and imagined to be, in its uncorrupted state, the Hebrew original of Matthew's Gospel; and further to prove, in direct opposition to what he has said, that the Gospel of Peter was the gospel in general use among the Jewish Christians.

If there be an error, as there is much reason to think, in the account of Theodoret, that the Gospel of Peter was used by a portion of the Jewish Christians, it concerns, perhaps, the title of the book. The work used may be

* Beiträge, p. 343.

conjectured to have been, not the "Gospel," but the "Revelation of Peter." This was an apocryphal book, which, without being regarded as the work of Peter, and probably without pretending to be his work, had a certain degree of reputation. Of its general character or design we have no express information. There are only three short extracts from it preserved, which are not adapted to give one a favorable idea of its contents.* But Eusebius says, that Clement of Alexandria, in a work now lost, gave short accounts of the canonical writings, "not neglecting those whose authority is contradicted (*αἱ ἀντισηγόμεναι*), as the Epistle of Jude, the other Catholic Epistles (that is, those others whose authority was questioned), the Epistle of Barnabas, and what is called the Revelation of Peter"; † and Eusebius himself agrees with Clement in classing it with books of the same character as those last mentioned. ‡ But what is to our immediate purpose, Sozomen, the ecclesiastical historian, who was contemporary with Theodoret, says that this book, "though esteemed by the ancients as altogether apocryphal, was read once a year, on Good Friday, in *some churches of Palestine*." || It is not unlikely, therefore, that the Revelation, and not the Gospel of Peter, was the book actually used by some Jewish Christians. Theodoret would be more likely to refer to the public reading of a book, than to its private circulation among a few individuals. §

* They are quoted in the "Eclogæ ex Scripturis Prophetarum," §§ 41, 48, 49. See Potter's edition of Clemens Alex., pp. 999-1001.

† Hist. Eccles. L. VI. c. 14.

‡ Ib. L. III. c. 25.

|| Hist. Eccles. L. VII. c. 19.

§ It may here be remarked, that the Revelation of Peter is also mentioned in the fragment of an account of canonical and unca-

In concluding these remarks, I may say, that I have not altogether regretted having occasion to notice this work of Credner. It is a specimen of a numerous class of productions of the later German theologians and speculatists, many of which are thrown out by young men to draw upon themselves temporary notoriety, and resemble academical exercises, written with little regard to the truth of the propositions maintained; while others aim at a graver and

nonical books, or "Canon," as it may be called, found by Muratori in a manuscript in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, and published by him in 1740, in his "*Antiquitates Italicæ Medii Ævi*," (Tom. III. 853, 854). This fragment is in Latin; the text is in a very corrupt state, full of grammatical solecisms, and in part unintelligible. It has been conjectured, with probability, that the original was in Greek. The author, from a reference to the times of Pius, bishop of Rome, as just elapsed, appears to have written about the close of the second century.

The passage respecting the Revelation of Peter is evidently corrupt; and it cannot be determined from it with confidence, what was written by the author. I give it as printed by Muratori, with a few lines preceding.

"*Epistola sane Judæ et Johannis duas [duæ] in [inter] catholica habentur. Et Sapientia ab amicis Salomonis in honorem ejus scripta. Apocalypsis etiam Johannis, et Petri, tantum recipimus, quam quidam ex nostris legi in Ecclesia nolunt.*"

Here, I conceive, a period should be placed after "*Apocalypsis etiam Johannis*," which book would thus be reckoned by the author among those accounted catholic. And, perhaps, in the Greek original the next sentence began with *Τὴ δὲ Πίτρου ἐν αὐτῇ παραδεδειγμένην*. From the Greek text the *ἐν* after *Πίτρου* may easily have been omitted through the oversight of a transcriber. Should these conjectures be allowed, the meaning of the author would be: "The Apocalypse of John also" is reckoned among catholic writings. "But that of Peter we do not receive; which some among us are unwilling should be read in the Church;" that is, it was so much disapproved by some, that they thought it should not be read by Christians for the purpose of edification.

more paradoxical character, and open ghastly views of a grand reform in all our modes of thinking, and in all that the wise have believed and held sacred. The bounds of common sense have been broken down, and theorists are expatiating freely in the regions beyond. Any novelty, however crude and extravagant, seems to find favor. These novelties, theological or metaphysical, are not maintained with any elaborate ingenuity, nor with "any rash dexterity of wit," but by bold assumptions and hardy assertions, set off with a show of learning which cannot be trusted, and held together with scarcely a semblance of what an intelligent man would consider as argument. They are often only obsolete errors revived, and partially disguised by a use of language, barbarous at once from its technicality and its indefiniteness of meaning. In many of the writings of which I speak, the most obvious facts and the strongest probabilities are put so entirely out of view, that a self-distrusting reader may begin to doubt whether he has not all his life been in some strange mistake, and to imagine, that a field of knowledge is familiar to his new instructor of which he had no conception. Often the purpose of the writer is not stated with precision, his work is very inartificially put together, one doctrine is at variance with another, his hypothesis assumes no settled form, so that one can hardly say what he would have it believed that he means to assert or deny. With much real want of skill in the clear arrangement of thoughts and the perspicuous use of language, is joined an affected obscurity of expression; the whole producing, if I may so speak, a constant blur before the eyes of the reader; and often the words swell into a volume of mist, through which the outlines of half-formed ideas can hardly, if at all, be discerned. These works are not, indeed, mischievous

as establishing any error; for they establish nothing; they perish and are forgotten, as rapidly as they are produced; *unda supervenit undam*; but they are mischievous by their numbers, as serving to darken and perplex the truth, and to divert attention from those views and studies by which alone it can be attained. They form piles of rubbish in the way of intellectual improvement. Their assuming tone imposes upon some or many readers, imperfectly acquainted with the subjects of which they treat, especially readers of that class who are apt to admire most what they do not understand. In their aggregate, they tend to produce doubts whether any thing can be satisfactorily ascertained concerning the subjects of which they treat; subjects often of great, perhaps the greatest interest; and as they indicate in their authors, so they create in their admirers, an incapacity for thinking clearly and reasoning wisely, and deaden that strong feeling of moral responsibility to seek only for the truth, with which any important investigation should be pursued.

NOTE F.

(See p. 248.)

ON THE WRITINGS ASCRIBED TO APOSTOLICAL FATHERS.

SECTION I.

Purpose of this Note.

THE purpose of this note is to give some account of the "Writings of the Apostolical Fathers," so called, and of their bearing on the proof of the genuineness of the Gospels. They are called Writings of Apostolical Fathers, because they are, or have been supposed to be, writings of individuals who were conversant with some one or more of the Apostles. I limit the term in the following remarks to those about the genuineness, or very early date, of which any controversy may be supposed to remain; and in treating this subject, I am compelled, as will be perceived, to differ from Lardner, a writer never to be spoken of without respect, and consequently from Paley, who follows him, in my views of the works themselves, and of their importance as regards our general subject.

Though these writings have been considered as among the earliest memorials of Christianity, yet it is remarkable how little attention has been given, during the last century, to the questions concerning their genuineness, antiquity, and value, even by those who seemed particularly called upon to investigate the subject. The few remarks which Lardner has made concerning the authority of those which he quotes

in proof of the credibility of the Gospels are far from satisfactory; and the same may be said, on the other hand, of the observations of Priestley in his "History of Early Opinions," by which he would invalidate their authority. The German theologian Semler, dogmatizing, as usual, without assigning reasons for his opinion, pronounces them all spurious, or of doubtful credit.* Little is to be learnt from the late ecclesiastical histories of Neander and Gieseler. Olshausen, a modern German writer of reputation, in his work on the genuineness of the Gospels, declines discussing the genuineness of the writings in question, as having no bearing upon his main inquiry, but affirms them all, except "The Second Epistle of Clement," so called, to be among the oldest Christian writings extant.† And some other modern German theologians quote them almost indiscriminately, as if they were works of established authority.‡

But, notwithstanding the apparently unsettled state of opinion respecting these writings, I think we may arrive at some definite and satisfactory conclusions concerning them, and that the subject, considered under various aspects, is well deserving of attention. Our immediate purpose is to consider in what relation they stand to the historical evidence for the genuineness of the Gospels.§

* *Commentarii Historici de antiquo Christianorum Statu*, T. I. pp. 39, 40.

† *Die Echtheit der vier canonischen Evangelien erwiesen*, p. 411.

‡ As Credner for example. See his *Beiträge*, pp. 10–23.

§ A translation of the works in question was published by Archbishop Wake in 1693, under the title of "The Genuine Epistles of the Apostolical Fathers," &c., with a preliminary discourse. It has since been several times reprinted; one edition having appeared at New York, in 1810. But neither the translation nor the statements of Wake are to be implicitly trusted.

SECTION II.

The Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians.
Other Works ascribed to Clement.

THE first work we shall notice is the Epistle of Clement of Rome, written in the name of the church at Rome, where he was bishop or presiding officer, or perhaps only a distinguished presbyter, to the church at Corinth, upon occasion of some dissensions which there prevailed. But a single manuscript copy of the work is extant, at the end of the Alexandrine manuscript of the Scriptures. This copy is considerably mutilated ; in some passages the text is manifestly corrupt, and other passages have been suspected of being interpolations.

The evidence for the genuineness of this Epistle, that is, for the fact that the Epistle, as now extant, was in the main written by Clement, seems to be full and satisfactory.

Irenæus, appealing to the doctrines of Clement, as opposed to those of the Gnostics, says, that Clement had seen the Apostles and had been connected with them, and that when he became bishop, their preaching was still sounding in men's ears, and many survived who had been taught by them ; and then proceeds to allege the Epistle in question, describing it as written by the church of Rome to that of Corinth, and giving a general account of its character.*

Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, about the year 170, wrote seven Epistles, now lost, to different churches. One of these was addressed to the church of Rome, in which he said to them, as he is quoted by Eusebius ; " To-day is the Lord's day, in which we have publicly read your epistle ; the

* Lib. III. cap. 3. § 3.

reading of which, as well as of that formerly written from you by Clement, will be to us a constant source of instruction." *

The epistle was likewise mentioned, as Eusebius informs us, by Hegesippus (an ecclesiastical historian of the second century) in speaking of the church at Corinth.†

It is abundantly quoted as the work of Clement of Rome by Clement of Alexandria. It is also quoted by Origen. It is mentioned several times, with high praise, by Eusebius, who says, that its genuineness was unquestioned; and that it had been formerly, and was even in his day, publicly read in many churches,‡ a custom which Jerome also, in the latter part of the fourth century, speaks of as existing in some places. By him likewise the epistle is quoted, and by his contemporaries, Cyril of Jerusalem and Epiphanius. Photius, in the ninth century, gives a particular criticism upon it; and before his time, there is no doubt that our present manuscript copy was written.||

Though the sentiments of this Epistle are commendable, it appears to be the work of an author of very moderate ability. There are no expressions of personal feeling to give it life and interest. It has the air of a homily addressed to the Corinthians on general topics, such as humility, order, peace, freedom from envy and angry passions, repentance, and Christian charity, which were adapted to the state of things existing among them. Its antiquity

* Apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles., Lib. IV. c. 23.

† Ib., c. 22.

‡ Ib., Lib. III. c. 16., c. 38.

|| I have given references in the margin to only a few of the places where the authorities in proof of the genuineness of this Epistle are to be found. For the remainder see the *Veterum Testimonia* in the edition of the *Patres Apostolici*, by Cotelier and Le Clerc, Tom. I. pp. 128-132.

and the other circumstances attending its composition, were probably the principal causes of the notoriety and favor it obtained.

There seems no reason for questioning that it was written (probably before the close of the first century) by Clement, who held a place in the church of Rome, which afterwards caused him to be entitled bishop, and who had been conversant with apostles. He was supposed by some of the ancients to be the Clement mentioned by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Philippians (iv. 3.) as a fellow-laborer with him; but this is doubtful. Of the bearing of this work upon the evidence for the genuineness of the Gospels, I shall speak hereafter.

THERE WAS another work, of which a fragment only is extant, that in the fourth century was by some ascribed to Clement, and called his "Second Epistle to the Corinthians." At the present day, it is generally agreed that it was not written by him. It is first mentioned by Eusebius, who does not regard it as Clement's work, and says that it was quoted by no ancient writer.* It was evidently a work of very little note or credit, and there is no ground for supposing it to have been in existence much before the time when Eusebius mentions it. Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, about the year 170, speaks of *the* Epistle of Clement to the Christians of that city in such a manner, as distinctly proves that he knew nothing of any second epistle.

Eichhorn, in endeavouring to prove that the Apostolical Fathers had gospels different from the four Gospels, makes much use of this fragment; though he does not maintain that the work, of which it was a part, was written by Clement, nor adduce any argument to show that it was written

* Hist. Eccles., I. lib. III. c. 38.

before the end of the second century.* It contains various quotations of words of Christ, most of which there is no difficulty in supposing are cited, strictly or loosely, from our present Gospels. But, in one place, Peter is represented as interposing a question not mentioned in the Gospels; and, in another, a passage is quoted, which, we learn from Clement of Alexandria, was found in an apocryphal book called the Gospel of the Egyptians; a book, particularly esteemed by the sect of heretics called Encratites, who denied the lawfulness of marriage.

Such quotations as these tend in no degree to invalidate the evidence of the fact, that the four Gospels were handed down from the times of the apostles, as the works of those to whom they are ascribed, and received in consequence by the great body of Christians, as deserving entire credit. The quotation of an apocryphal book by any writer of the first four centuries, or his introducing a relation of something concerning the history of Christ not found in the Gospels, has no bearing to prove that the Gospels were not regarded by him and his contemporaries with the highest respect as *the* authentic histories of Jesus. We find such passages after the period, when there is no question that the Gospels were so esteemed.† But, as regards the particular case before us, it would seem that nothing can be more futile than to attempt to prove, that the Apostolical Fathers used apocryphal Gospels, from a work which it is not pretended was written by an Apostolical Father, and for the existence of which we have no proof before the fourth century. Knowing nothing of the writer, the very unimportant problem of his quotations admits of no particular solution.

* Einleit. in d. N. T., I. 122–131.

† See before, p. 77; pp. 221, 222.

Of the fragment of his work we have only a single manuscript copy at the end of the Alexandrine manuscript.

Some other works have been attributed to Clement of Rome; but, as it is now generally agreed that they were not written by him, and as they have no immediate connexion with the present inquiry, it would be out of place to remark upon them here.

SECTION III.

The Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians.

WHAT may next be mentioned is an Epistle by Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, to the church at Philippi. A portion of it only is extant in Greek; the remainder is furnished by an old Latin translation. Polycarp died a martyr in the second century. Respecting the precise time of his death, the data are, I think, too uncertain to afford ground for any of the different computations which have been made. Irenæus twice mentions having known him, when he himself was a young man. He speaks of his distinct recollection of his person, his manners, his way of life, and of his public discourses, in which Polycarp, he says, reported the words of John and of other bearers of the Lord with whom he had been conversant, and their accounts respecting the miracles and doctrine of the Lord, all corresponding to the Scriptures. Irenæus relates that he suffered martyrdom when a very old man. To his Epistle to the Philippians, he refers, in connexion with his reference to that of Clement of Rome, as giving proof of the opposition between the doctrine of Polycarp and that of the heretics.*

* *Contra Hæres*, Lib. III. c. 3, § 4. *Epist. ad Florinum*, ap. Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.*, Lib. V. c. 20.

This Epistle is mentioned by other ancient writers, nor is there any reason to doubt its genuineness; except that a passage appears to have been interpolated near its conclusion, inconsistent with what is found in the preceding part of the Epistle, and fraudulently intended to give countenance to certain Epistles forged in the name of Ignatius, to be mentioned hereafter.*

The Epistle of Polycarp is a grave, dignified, well-connected exhortation, founded upon the writings of the New Testament, and pervaded with conceptions, turns of expressions, and quotations, borrowed from them. There is of course little that is original in its character. From one passage, in which he expresses his strong disapprobation of the doctrines of the Docetæ, it appears that those opinions were well known at the time of its composition. But, if

* The passage referred to is what is now numbered as the thirteenth section. In this, epistles of Ignatius are mentioned as sent by Polycarp to the Philippians, annexed to his own.

In the body of the Epistle (§ 9), Polycarp says to the Philippians; "I exhort you all to obey the doctrine of righteousness, and to exercise all patience, such as ye saw before your eyes not only in those blessed men Ignatius, and Zosimus, and Rufus, but also in others who were of your number, and in Paul himself and the rest of the apostles; being persuaded that they all ran not in vain, but in faith and righteousness, and that they are with the Lord, with whom they were fellow sufferers, in the place that was due to them."

When this passage was written, it is evident that Ignatius was dead, nor is his death spoken of as if it were a recent event. But the author of the interpolation, overlooking this passage, and referring to the story, that Ignatius, after leaving Smyrna, passed through Philippi on his way to suffer martyrdom at Rome, makes Polycarp request the Philippians to communicate to him any certain information they might have concerning Ignatius himself and those with him: "Et de ipso Ignatio, et de his qui cum eo sunt, quod certius agnoveritis significate."

they existed, they did not attract much attention, before the time when Marcion published his heresy and made disciples, which was probably about the year 130.

SECTION IV.

The Shepherd of Hermas.

THERE is a work called "The Shepherd of Hermas," which has been regarded by some as the production of a fanatic, who imagined that he saw visions, or of an impostor, pretending to have seen them. But I discern in the book no marks of fanaticism or imposture. It seems to me to belong to the same class of writings as "The Tablet of Cebes," "The Vision concerning Piers Ploughman," or, to take a more familiar example, Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," or more generally to the class of works of fiction, especially those written in the first person. The author, like Bunyan, describes himself as having witnessed a succession of visions, and also as having received various communications, which he was commanded to publish. His representing an angel as having appeared to him under the likeness of a shepherd gives its title to the work. Its allegories are not suited to the taste of modern times, but were adapted to engage the attention and affect the minds of readers of the age when it was composed; so that it long continued to be with many an acceptable book.

By some, both in ancient and modern times, the writer has been supposed to be the Hermas mentioned by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans, ch. xvi. v. 14.

Origen, according to the Latin translation of his Commentary on this passage, says, that he thinks this Hermas to have

been the author of the Shepherd;* and Eusebius speaks of it as reported to be his work.† It is once quoted by Iræneus, and often by Clement of Alexandria, as a work of high authority. It was referred to with some respect by Tertullian before he became a Montanist;‡ afterwards he speaks of it with reprobation, because it contradicted the severe doctrine, which he then held, that there was no repentance for Christians guilty of unchastity. Yet, even in expressing his own ill opinion of it, he implies that it had been regarded by some as having claim to a sort of canonical authority. I would give up the point, he says, “if that writing, the Shepherd, deserved to be inserted in the divine *Instrument* ;” (that is, among the divine records, the books of Scripture;) “if it had not been judged by every council, even of *your churches*,” (those of the catholic Christians, in contradistinction to the Montanists,) “as apocryphal and false.” § Origen quotes it often; but his quotations are principally found only in the Latin translations of his works. He appears himself, in one or two passages, to ascribe to it great authority; but in other cases leaves his reader to judge what weight is to be given to its testimony; qualifying his citation of it with the words; “If that book is to be received”; by which he means, *if it is to be admitted as of authority* to support a doctrine. In one passage Origen says, “It seems to me a very useful book, and is, as I think, divinely inspired;” but in an-

* “Puto tamen quod Hermas iste sit scriptor libelli illius qui Pastor appellatur, quæ scriptura valde mihi utilis videtur, et ut puto divinitus inspirata.” — Comment. in Ep. ad Romanos, Lib. x. § 31. Opp. IV. 683.

† *Μνήμη πτωχῶν* [ὁ Παῦλος] μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ Ἑρμῶ, ὃς φασὶν ὀπδεύειν τὸ τοῦ Παύλου βιβλίον. — Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. c. 3.

‡ De Oratione, c. 12.

§ De Pudicitia, c. 10; vide et c. 20.

other he mentions it as "despised by some." This last passage is extant in the original, and so also is another, in which he speaks of "venturing to use a certain book, which circulates in the church, but is not acknowledged as divine by all," and then cites the Shepherd.* Eusebius reckons it among those writings, which were "not genuine" Scripture (*ἐν τοῖς νόθοις*); but says that it was "judged by some a very necessary book, especially for those who are in want of elementary instruction, so that at the present day, as we know, it is even publicly read in churches, and I have observed that some very ancient writers make use of it." I pass over other notices of it in ancient writers of less importance.†

There is, perhaps, nothing in the contents of the book inconsistent with the belief of its having been written in the first century; but there is evidence to the contrary which can hardly be set aside. The author of the Canon published by Muratori, formerly mentioned,‡ says of the Shepherd of Hermas, that "it was written very lately, in our own times, by Hermas, while his brother Pius presided over the church at Rome as bishop; and so it ought to be read, but not publicly in the church to the people;" adding, that it could not be ranked either among the writings of the prophets or of the apostles.§ Pius is supposed to have become bishop of Rome, A. D. 142. The same account of

* Comment. in Matth. Tom. xiv. § 21. Opp. III. 644.

† These, together with the passages I have quoted, are cited or referred to among the Veterum Testimonia in the Patres Apostolici, or in Fabricii Cod. Apocr. Nov. Test., P. III. pp. 738-763.

‡ See p. cclii., ccliii., note.

§ It should be observed that the volume of Lardner's "Credibility" which contains the article on Hermas appeared before Muratori published this Canon.

the authorship of the book is given in a Latin poem, "Against Marcion," of uncertain date and of which the writer is unknown, published in editions of the works of Tertullian. In this, Hermas, the brother of Pius, is called the Angelical Shepherd, who spoke the words committed to him.* This opinion respecting the author of the Shepherd seems to have prevailed, after the fifth century, among the writers of the Latin church. The book gradually fell into neglect; the original was lost, and a few manuscripts only of a Latin translation of it are now remaining.

The writer of the Canon published by Muratori speaks of himself as having lived in the time of Pius and his brother, Hermas, and affirms that the Shepherd had been composed by the latter not long before he himself wrote. There is here no ground for the suspicion of falsehood; and there seems to be but little probability of mistake. The writer could hardly have committed so gross an error concerning a work, which, according to his own account, was famous and highly esteemed by many, as to represent it to have been written by a well-known individual of his own age, when in fact it had been in existence from the first century. We may therefore conclude that it was not written till about the year 150, and we must ascribe the acceptance which it so early found, partly to its stories and allegorical representations; for even rude attempts in a new form of art are likely to be favorably received; partly to an opinion, suggested by the general aspect of the book, that it was in some sort divinely inspired, for in the first ages of Christianity men's notions of inspiration were very vague and comprehensive; and partly to the mistake of supposing that it was written by one who lived in the times of the Apostles.

* Lib. III. ad finem. Tertulliani Opp. p. 635, ed. Priorii.

If the date we have assigned to the work be correct, it has no claim to a place among the writings of Apostolical Fathers. It is of some interest from its illustrating in a certain degree the opinions, feelings, and taste of the early Christians. But, as regards the direct historical evidence for the genuineness of the Gospels, it is of no importance. No book is cited in it by name. There are no evident quotations from the Gospels, and nothing that one can suppose to be borrowed from any apocryphal history of Christ.

SECTION V.

The Epistle of Barnabas, so called.

THERE is an Epistle extant which has been ascribed to Barnabas, the companion of St. Paul. It is several times expressly quoted as his work by Clement of Alexandria, who entitles the author, Barnabas the Apostle. It is once mentioned by Origen in his work against Celsus under the title of the "Catholic, (that is, General) Epistle of Barnabas"; as containing a passage on which Celsus might have founded a charge made by him, that the apostles were "infamous men, the vilest tax-gatherers and sailors," which charge is, as we shall see, abundantly countenanced by the passage referred to. Origen uses no expressions of respect in quoting it, and his calling it the Epistle of Barnabas only shows that it passed under that title, and does not prove that he himself believed Barnabas to be its author. According to the Latin translations of two of his works by Rufinus, Origen has quoted this Epistle once elsewhere, and perhaps alluded to it in another passage, but still, I think, without any particular expression of respect. The Epistle is after-

wards mentioned by Eusebius, who classes it among books not canonical, or not genuine Scripture, (*ἐν τοῖς νόθοις.*) After him, Jerome ascribes it to Barnabas, reckoning it among the Apocryphal Scriptures, that is, as is here meant by him, among writings entitled to respect, though not canonical. The book appears to be mentioned by no other writer during the first four centuries,* but in the Apostolical Constitutions there is a passage evidently taken from it.† Though so early recommended to notice by the quotations of Clement of Alexandria as the work of Barnabas the Apostle, it seems never to have obtained much favor among the great body of Christians. Clement himself, in one place, rejects a fiction found in the work,‡ and in another, appears unsatisfied with one of its expositions.§ He has adduced it, therefore, not as a work of conclusive authority, nor has he quoted it for historical facts, but only for expressions of sentiment and opinion. Among the great multitude of volumes which that very learned father has cited in his writings, there must have been many, in regard to the authorship of which he trusted to their titles or to very slight information; nor is it doubted that in doing so he has been led into many mistakes. In assigning the present work to Barnabas, he may have been deceived by a title prefixed to some copy of it through the misjudgment of a former proprietor, or to several copies, fraudulently, to promote their sale; or it may have been written by some individual of the name of Barnabas, and Clement may have hastily concluded that the author thus named was the com-

* See the *Veterum Testimonia* in the *Patres Apostolici*.

† Vid. Dallæus, *De Pseudepigraphis Apostolicis*, Lib. II. c. 4. pp. 265, 266.

‡ *Pædagog.* II. 10, p. 188; comp. *Epist. Barnab.* c. 10.

§ *Stromat.* II. 15, p. 389.

panion of St. Paul. In ancient times the genuineness of books *as a matter of literary interest* was much less carefully investigated than at the present day ; and Clement was not distinguished from other ancient writers by particular attention to the subject. His authority, probably, was the principal means of procuring for the so-called " Epistle of Barnabas " the notice it afterwards obtained.

But the author of this work does not write in the name of Barnabas, nor in any way identify himself with him ; and there seem to be decisive reasons for believing Barnabas not to have been its author.* Its most distinguishing characteristic is its being thoroughly imbued with the allegorizing spirit of the Alexandrine school, which may in some degree have recommended it to Clement. Though of a very far inferior character, it has in this respect, and in its general design, some resemblance to the Epistle to the Hebrews. The style of reasoning and interpretation is so foreign from all our present intellectual habits, that it may have been spoken of too contemptuously ; but it is unquestionably the work of a writer deficient in good sense. The allegorical interpretations of the Old Testament are very forced and mean ; yet after one of the poorest, in which he teaches that the number of the persons circumcised by Abraham, which he falsely supposes to have been three hundred and eighteen, was typical of the cross and of the first two Greek letters of the name of Jesus, he subjoins ; " He who has implanted in us the gift of teaching knows that no one has learnt from me a more genuine doctrine. But I know that ye are worthy of it." †

* I should have considered the point so well settled that Barnabas was not its author, as to render it unnecessary to enter into any argument on the subject, had I not observed that several of the modern German scholars are disposed to attribute it to him.

† cap. 9.

We can hardly suppose this to have been written by Barnabas, one high in honor among the first preachers of Christianity, the associate of St. Paul in his labors. Christianity was not established in the Gentile world by the preaching of such "genuine doctrines." The allegories in the Epistle founded upon the Mosaic laws respecting clean and unclean food, are mixed up with strange fables respecting animals. The whole tone of the Epistle is low and trivial, expressing no warmth of feeling and adapted to excite none. And, to mention one other particular passage, that referred to by Origen in his work against Celsus, the writer, laboring after emphatic language, says that Jesus chose for his apostles men "who were sinners beyond all sin,"* a declaration too foolishly extravagant for us to believe that it proceeded from a contemporary and friend of the apostles.

But it may be said, that we know too little of Barnabas personally to determine from the inferior character of the Epistle, that it might not have been written by him. I answer that we know much concerning him. From the few notices of him that St. Luke has given, we learn that he was greatly trusted by the apostles, and had great influence with them; that he was one of the earliest of those preachers by whom Christianity was spread through the world; that, with the exception of St. Paul, he apparently did more than any other in the accomplishment of this work; that in the commencement of St. Paul's ministry he was, as it were, his patron; that he was open, manly, and strong-minded, taking St. Paul and bringing him to the apostles, when the other disciples were all afraid of him; and with him maintaining the claims of the Gentiles against

* ὅτις πᾶσαν ἁμαρτίαν ἀνομιήτους. c. 5. Wake, in his translation, softens this down to "very great sinners."

the prejudices of his countrymen ; and that he was full of zeal and disinterestedness in the cause in which he was engaged, giving up his property to supply those who were in need, and devoting all his powers to its promotion. Considering what he was and what he effected, there can be no doubt that he comprehended and felt the essential truths of our religion, and was well able to impress them on the hearts and minds of others. When, with such a conception of him distinctly before us, we come to the reading of his pretended Epistle, it requires but little knowledge of human nature to enable us to determine that it is not his work. It may seem only to imply the ability to distinguish between the miserable composition of some Alexandrine sophist, and the words of one full of the spirit and power of Christianity. No incongruity would be more gross than to ascribe such an Epistle to St. Paul, and it seems scarcely less incongruous to ascribe it to Barnabas.

To proceed to another argument ; Barnabas was a Jew by birth, but the author of the Epistle uniformly blends himself with the Gentile Christians as one of their number. It may be possible to evade the force of particular passages to this effect, one after another ; but the whole impression from the manner in which he speaks, is, that he was a Gentile by birth, and, I think, a Gentile convert. In addition to this, he does not write in the Hebraistic style of the New Testament. He discovers no Jewish sentiments or affections, no interest in or sympathy with the Jewish nation. He writes of them with the harsh feelings of a Gentile. No Jew could or ought so to have alienated himself from his countrymen. Between the state of mind expressed by the writer, and the strong emotion with which St. Paul speaks of his "great grief and continual pain of heart for his brethren, his natural kinsmen," the contrast is much too

striking to allow of our attributing the Epistle to Barnabas; especially when we remember that this work is imagined to have been written by him immediately after those overwhelming calamities, which the Jews brought upon themselves through their unbelief.

As appears from the work itself, (c. 16,) it was written after the destruction of Jerusalem (A. D. 70). It cannot be proved, that in the common course of nature Barnabas might not have survived that event; but there is no doubt that, if he did so, he must have been far advanced in life. That one, who had composed nothing before, should then set about the composition of a writing at all resembling that ascribed to Barnabas, is very improbable; and still more improbable is it, that in a work addressed by Barnabas, under such circumstances, to his fellow Christians, there should be no recurrence to his past history, no expression of those deeply affecting recollections that must have pressed upon his mind, no reference to his old age, nor any trace of emotion in contemplating the ruin which God had inflicted upon his nation, the hard but successful struggles of the true faith, and his own solitary state, as one of the few survivors of that noble company of apostles and martyrs, who had been bound together by such strong sympathies in suffering and joy. Nothing of all this appears in the Epistle. It might have been written as a task by a dull pupil in a rhetorician's school.

Barnabas, as I have said, may have survived the destruction of Jerusalem, though it is for various reasons unlikely that he did so; but, were it the fact, it would not prove that he might have been the author of the Epistle; for the Epistle was not written, as has been affirmed, *shortly* after that event. This appears from the passage in which the event is referred to; from which it also appears,

that the writer was neither Barnabas nor any other Jew. The Jewish temple having been destroyed, the author represents the Gentiles as building up in its stead a spiritual temple to God. Its destruction, he says, was predicted in the Old Testament, and, "It has taken place. For, they [the Jews] going to war, it was destroyed by their enemies; and now will the very ministers of their enemies rebuild it." * *The Jews going to war, it was destroyed by their enemies*; — the writer would not thus have spoken of the destruction of Jerusalem, had it been a recent event, fresh in the minds of men; nor would he, if a Jew, have classed himself, as he immediately does, with *the very ministers of the enemies* of his nation, converted Gentiles, who were to form the new temple; — "We," he says, "whose hearts, before we believed in God, were full of idolatry, a habitation of demons, but in whom God now dwells."

We conclude then, that the Epistle was not written by Barnabas; and, this being the case, we have no ground for assigning to it an earlier date than is required by the circumstance of its being quoted by Clement of Alexandria; that is, we may suppose it to have been written about the middle of the second century. We may derive an argument for its not being in existence before this period from the fact, that it is not noticed by Irenæus or Tertullian; the latter of whom speaks of the Epistle to the Hebrews as written by Barnabas, calling it the Epistle of Barnabas, without intimating a knowledge of any other ascribed to him.† A considerable part of the

* Γίνεται. Διὰ γὰρ τὸ πολεμεῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἡγήθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν· νῦν καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑπηρεταὶ ἀνοικοδομήσουσιν αὐτόν. The rendering of Archbishop Wake is incorrect; "And so it came to pass; for, through their wars, *it is now destroyed* by their enemies," &c. The passage is in c. 16.

† De Pudicitia, c. 20.

Epistle is controversial, directed against the unbelieving Jews, and having, therefore, the same character as Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho, which was written about the period just mentioned. But from the destruction of Jerusalem (A. D. 70) till the reign of Antoninus Pius (A. D. 138 - 161), the state of the Jews, including the Jewish Christians, was such, that there is little likelihood that religious controversies existed between them and the Gentile Christians, or that the notice of the latter was at all directed to their pretensions. The wrath of the Roman empire had fallen upon and blasted the nation, and continued to pursue it, as if to exterminate the race. They became objects of general aversion and hatred. As an odious and degraded class, they were everywhere exposed to insult and cruelty. The capitation tax, the didrachm, which they had been accustomed to pay for the service of the temple, was required by Titus, in bitter mockery, for the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Under Domitian the impositions upon them were made more severe by the brutality with which they were enforced, — *Præter cæteros Judaicus fiscus acerbissime actus est*, says Suetonius, — and it became a common source of revenue, to charge them with crimes for the sake of seizing upon their property.* They were forbidden by the edicts of the Roman emperors to circumcise their children. They existed throughout the empire only as suppressed rebels, often breaking out into open war, and perpetrating and suffering terrible massacres; till at last the vengeance of Adrian was directed upon Judæa, and renewed, as far as there were objects for it,

* To such an extent was this practice carried, that when it was abolished by Nerva, a coin was struck, bearing the inscription, "Fisci Judaici Calumnia sublata S. C."

the desolation of Titus. Under such circumstances we can hardly suppose the Jews to have been so interested in the religious controversy with the Gentile Christians, as to give occasion for such works as the Dialogue with Trypho, or the Epistle of Barnabas. But under the first Antoninus, the successor of Adrian, the prohibition to circumcise their children was revoked, the wiser policy of conciliation was adopted toward them, they enjoyed a respite from their sufferings; and, as during his reign the Dialogue with Trypho was written, so also we may suppose was the Epistle of Barnabas.

To those who believe that the doctrine of the preëxistence of Christ did not begin to prevail among the Orthodox Christians, till toward the middle of the second century, the manner in which it is introduced in this Epistle may afford another argument for the date assigned to it.

But whatever weight there may be in these considerations, it is to be remembered, that, if the Epistle be not the work of Barnabas, we have no ground whatever for supposing it written earlier than the period mentioned; and there is no ground therefore for classing it with writings of Apostolical Fathers. Its internal character is an objection not merely to its having been written by Barnabas, but by any one who had been conversant with apostles.

The Epistle is now extant partly in the Greek original, and partly in an old Latin translation, the beginning of the former and the end of the latter being lost. The texts of both, in the few manuscripts in which they are extant, are very corrupt, and, in the forms in which they have been printed, both lie under the suspicion of having been interpolated and altered by transcribers.

The Epistle contains three passages corresponding to passages in the Gospels.* There is one, which Eichhorn thinks was taken from an apocryphal history of Christ.† It is as follows; "So they," he says, "who would see me and attain my kingdom, must receive me through affliction and suffering."‡ But there seems no difficulty in regarding this as intended to express the sense of various passages in the Gospels. There is another professed quotation, that would seem to have been more to Eichhorn's purpose, which, however, may admit of a similar explanation. "As the Son of God says, Let us resist all iniquity and hate it."§ But, as regards both these passages, it is further to be observed, that the writer of the Epistle is extremely inaccurate in his professed quotations; so as often to cite the Old Testament for words and facts not to be found in it.|| But, as these citations do not prove that he had any other copy of the Old Testament than that in common use, so neither do the two passages in question prove that he had any other copy of the New Testament. We cannot infer from them, that he quoted any apocryphal writing; and, could this be shown, it would be a fact of no moment.

* See Lardner's article on Barnabas; *Credibility*, Part II. Ch. 1.

† Einleit. in d. N. T., I. 117, 118.

‡ c. 7.

§ c. 4.

|| See the examples adduced by Jones in his "New and Full Method of settling the Canonical Authority of the N. T." Vol. II. Ch. xli.

SECTION VI.

Epistles ascribed to Ignatius.

WE come now to seven Epistles ascribed to Ignatius, said to be a bishop of Antioch, who suffered martyrdom soon after the close of the first century. These Epistles exist in two forms ; in the one of which they are shorter than in the other. The shorter Epistles have either been abridged from the longer, with some changes of expression, or the longer have been interpolated, and altered in other respects from the shorter. It is the genuineness of the shorter Epistles that is generally contended for by those who suppose either set to have been written by Ignatius. The story connected with them is, that he was sent by the personal order of the Emperor Trajan from Antioch, by a land journey, to Rome, there to be exposed to wild beasts, and that on his way he wrote six of these Epistles to different churches, and one to Polycarp.

But the seven shorter Epistles, the genuineness of which is contended for, come to us in bad company ; not only that of their seven larger brethren, but that of eight other Epistles, which the learned have almost unanimously pronounced to be spurious. In ancient times, supposititious works, and those of little credit, were not uncommonly refashioned, or gave occasion to others of a similar character ; while the undoubted genuineness of a work prevented such changes and imitations. The name of Ignatius, it is apparent, was a favorite among the fabricators of spurious writings ; probably because hardly any thing was known of him with certainty.

There is, as it seems to me, no reasonable doubt that the seven shorter Epistles ascribed to Ignatius are, equally with all the rest, fabrications of a date long subsequent to his time. Some, who have felt the strong objections to which their genuineness is exposed, have adopted the notion of their being interpolated, or have suggested that this might be the case. But I believe that, if there be any thing in them which Ignatius said or wrote, it is this, which may be considered as interpolated, having been introduced by the author of the Epistles to give credit to his forgery. The design of this forgery appears to have been to strengthen the domination of priests, and especially of bishops; to confirm the doctrine of the Deity of Christ, as it existed about the commencement of the fourth century; and to bear down the Gnostics and other heretics, by the pretended authority of an ancient martyr.

The genuineness of these Epistles has been so ably discussed, and they have, in my opinion, been so satisfactorily proved to be spurious, that I shall only make a few general remarks upon the subject.*

* The subject is to be *studied* in the work of Daillé, "*De Scriptis quæ sub Dionysii Areopagitæ et Ignatii Antiocheni Nominibus circumferuntur*," in which, however, it is to be observed, that he blends together objections both to the shorter and longer Epistles, it not being settled in his time, which set was to be defended;—in Bishop Pearson's reply to Daillé, entitled "*Vindiciæ Ignatianæ*";—and in Larroque's answer to Pearson, (which I have not been able to procure,) "*Observationes in Ignatianas Pearsonii Vindicias, necnon in Beverigii Annotationes*." Most readers, however, will find enough to satisfy them, in Chauncy's "*Complete view of Episcopacy, as exhibited from the Fathers of the Christian Church, until the Close of the Second Century*," the work of an able and learned theologian of this country, which, though the controversy that produced it is obsolete, still retains value, from the information it

The state of the external testimony is such as to create a strong presumption of their being fabricated. The passage near the conclusion of the Epistle of Polycarp in its Latin translation, in which epistles of Ignatius are mentioned, is of such a character as at once to raise a suspicion of its having been interpolated to countenance the fraud.* No epistles of Ignatius are mentioned by Irenæus, Clement, or Tertullian; and the absence of such mention, under the circumstances of the case, is all but decisive proof, that no such epistles existed in their day. Especially the fact, that Irenæus does insist at length upon the evidence against the doctrines of the Gnostics to be derived from the Epistles of Clement and Polycarp, without mentioning those of Ignatius, which the occasion must have forced upon his notice, and which might have seemed written expressly for his purpose, shows, either that these Epistles were not then extant, or that he did not recognise them as genuine; and of these inferences there is abundant reason to adopt the first.† Origen is adduced as twice

affords concerning Christian antiquity. It is striking, and to a scholar almost affecting, that such a work should have been produced among us at a time, (but little more than fifty years since,) when, as the author mentions, there was a want of types and skill to print the Greek citations in Greek letters.

* See p. cclxiii.

† There is a passage in Irenæus (Lib. V. c. 28. § 4.), which Eusebius (H. E. III. 36) adduces in proof of his having quoted these Epistles, and which has been insisted upon by their defenders in modern times. It is as follows, — “As one among us said, when condemned to the wild beasts on account of his testimony for God, I am the grain of Christ [or God], and am ground by the teeth of wild beasts, that I may be found pure bread of God.” These words are found in the Epistle to the Romans ascribed to Ignatius (§ 4). By Jerome and others, they are said to have been uttered at the time

quoting them ; but one of the quotations appealed to is in a work * of which we have only a translation by Rufinus, who so altered and interpolated the writings of Origen which he rendered, that his translations are not considered as of authority to prove what Origen wrote ; and the other is found in a work, of which the genuineness is doubtful, a homily,† which those who contend for its genuineness, suppose to have been written down by some hearer, clandestinely, without Origen's consent ;‡ and in the copies of which, thus particularly exposed to interpolation, from not having any claim to be regarded as the precise words of the author, it may have been subsequently introduced. The first writer by whom the seven Epistles are expressly mentioned is Eusebius ;§ and by him in such a way as, I think, to leave it doubtful whether he believed their genuineness. He begins his account of the martyrdom of Ignatius with the words, "*It is reported,*" || and speaks of him as "*still very famous with many*"; while, except the honorable mention of him as an example of patience in the genuine portion of the Epistle of Polycarp, it is, to say the least,

of his martyrdom. Supposing that Irenæus referred to Ignatius, which has been assumed on the one hand, and admitted on the other, without, I think, any sufficient proof, there is no good reason to believe that he quoted the words of the Epistle. The turn of expression, on the contrary, would lead us to suppose that he referred to spoken words ; and the forger of these Epistles, for the purpose of giving them credit, would naturally have recourse to the artifice of introducing into them words that had been ascribed to Ignatius, or which might be fancied to be his.

* Prolog. in Cantic. Canticorum. Opp. III. 30.

† Homil. in Lucam vi. Opp. III. 938.

‡ See Delarue's Preface to the third volume of Origen's Works, pp. iv, v.

§ Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. c. 36.

|| *Δίγος δ' ἔχου.*

uncertain whether his name occurs in the extant writings of any preceding father. Eusebius was not of a character to expose himself to odium by directly expressing his disbelief of a fabrication intended to strengthen the power of the priesthood.

The story connected with the pretended composition of these *Epistles* is very improbable; but on this it is unnecessary to dwell. Their internal character affords, in my opinion, the clearest evidence of forgery. A series of anachronisms runs through them. They suppose a priesthood with distinctions and powers, which did not exist till long after the time of Ignatius. The implicit submission of the laity to the clergy in all spiritual matters, is a constant topic, and is inculcated in language, foolish and extravagant even to profaneness. A single example may suffice: "Do ye all follow your Bishop, as Jesus Christ did the Father, and the Presbytery, as the Apostles; and reverence the Deacons as the command of God." * To give such an exhortation to Christians at the present day would not be more absurd than it would have been to address it to those of the primitive age, when Ignatius is supposed to have lived. There is a similar anachronism in the language concerning the theological doctrine of the Deity of Christ. And the repeated references to the opinions of the Docetæ imply, that those opinions had acquired a notoriety and importance at the end of the first century, improbable in itself, and inconsistent with the statements of the early fathers by whom they were controverted, and who refer their rise to the times of Adrian and Antoninus Pius.

* *Epist. ad Smyrnæos*, § 8.

I doubt whether any book, in its general tone of sentiment and language, ever betrayed itself as a forgery more clearly than do these pretended Epistles of Ignatius. The style, which is barbarous and obscure, is, at the same time, ridiculously inflated and artificial.* There is no natural expression of feeling. The sentiments ascribed to Ignatius present a rude caricature of a very weak, half-crazy, vain-glorious bigot. Take the conception on which the Epistles are founded, that of an aged Christian bishop, who had been a companion of apostles, torn from his people by an order of the Emperor in person, sent a long journey under a guard of brutal soldiers, to suffer, at its termination, a barbarous death, continually receiving, on his way, all the

* The following account of the star said to have appeared to the Magi, may serve as an illustration of the character of the forger of these Epistles, and of his style of writing, though of this it is not the most remarkable specimen that might be given.

"A star shone forth in the heavens, brighter than all the stars, and its light was unspeakable; and its novelty produced perturbation. And the other stars, together with the sun and moon, became a choir to that star; and that surpassed them all in its light, and there was trouble among men, whence came this strange novelty. Hence all magic was dissolved, and every bond of wickedness done away, ignorance was overthrown, the old kingdom was destroyed, God being manifested in a human form for the newness of eternal life, and that which was perfected by God received dominion. Hence all things were in commotion, because the destruction of death was preparing." — Epist. ad Ephesios, § 19.

"*Mirum hæc potuisse videri temere scripta, absurda, indicta:*" "It is wonderful that this account can have appeared unfounded, absurd, unheard of." So says Cotelier in his note on the passage, referring to expressions of Daillé. Bishop Pearson (Vindic. Ignat. P. II. c. 10.) defends it as credible, saying, that there were "two phases of the star, one in the East, and the other at Jerusalem," and that the account refers to the former.

consolations and supports which the sympathy of his fellow Christians could afford him, and addressing to them, under such circumstances, his last exhortations, — take this conception, and one can hardly imagine that the outline could be filled up, as it is by the forger of these Epistles, so that not a feeling of interest or respect should be excited for the supposed sufferer. No writer of a fustian tragedy ever more grossly misrepresented human nature, or put more extravagant rant into the mouth of his principal personage.*

I conceive these Epistles to have been fabricated, as they now exist in their shorter form, about the beginning of the fourth century, the date assigned to them by Daillé. They are of no value as regards the direct historical evidence for the genuineness of the Gospels. But Eichhorn, though he admits that they were not the work of Ignatius, says, that "they are an ancient though much interpolated book," † and insists on one passage as proving that the Apostolical Fathers quoted apocryphal Gospels. ‡

SECTION VII.

Concluding Remarks respecting the Evidence for or against the Genuineness of the Gospels to be derived from the Writings before mentioned.

FROM the writings ascribed to Apostolical Fathers, if our preceding conclusions be correct, we have to except the Second Epistle of Clement, so called, of the existence of which we have no proof before the fourth century; the

* See particularly the whole of the Epistle to the Romans.

† Einleit. in d. N. T., I. 131.

‡ Ib., p. 132.

Shepherd of Hermas, which was written about the middle of the second century ; what is named the Epistle of Barnabas, which was not the work of Barnabas the Apostle, and the composition of which may likewise be referred to the middle of the second century ; and the spurious Epistles of Ignatius, the fabrication of a much later age.

We have then remaining only the Epistle of Clement of Rome, and that of Polycarp, of which I shall speak hereafter.

The writings first mentioned are unimportant as affording direct historical evidence for the genuineness of the Gospels. Supposing the Gospels to have been in common use among Christians at the time of their composition, there can indeed be little doubt that they contain quotations from and references to them. But the Gospels are not spoken of nor described ; there is nothing in the writings themselves, clearly to designate the source or sources from which those quotations and references are borrowed ; nor are the words alleged introduced under such circumstances, and so strikingly correspondent with the words of the evangelists, as to satisfy us, from these considerations alone, that they must have been taken from the Gospels. Above all, the earliest date which we can with probability, or at best with any confidence, assign to any one of these writings, falls within the period when, as I trust has appeared, we are able clearly to evince from other direct evidence, that the Gospels were in common use among Christians ; and the additional proof of this fact, which the writings in question may be thought to afford, is not deserving of consideration.

But it has been maintained, that these writings not only afford no proof of this fact, but that they, together with the Epistles of Clement and Polycarp, show that gospels different from those we now have were in common use among

the companions and immediate successors of the Apostles. Eichhorn contends, that "the Apostolical Fathers, from Barnabas and Clement of Rome down to Polycarp, used in their writings, genuine and *spurious*, [that is, in those which they did and in those which they did not write,] texts of the Life of Jesus in many respects different from those of our Matthew, Mark, and Luke." * This extraordinary proposition is maintained by arguments corresponding to its character; for these arguments are founded principally on passages in works which Eichhorn does not pretend to be genuine, and which, from the very circumstance of their being spurious, we may infer could not even have been in existence during the lifetime of those to whom they are ascribed. As regards the Epistles of Clement and Polycarp, his great argument for supposing that their authors quoted histories of Christ different from the canonical Gospels, is, that words of Jesus are brought together which do not in those Gospels stand in immediate connexion, and that there is sometimes a want of verbal correspondence. The force of this mode of reasoning has been already examined. Enough, likewise, has been said respecting the theory of an original Gospel, and of such modifications of it as the Apostolical Fathers are imagined to have quoted; and this theory may now be dismissed from consideration.†

* Einleit. in d. N. T., I. 114.

† In here taking leave of Eichhorn's theory respecting an Original Gospel, of various ancient gospels derived from it, and in common use previously to the selection and adoption of the four Gospels by the Church, and of the late period, about the year 200, when our present Gospels superseded the more ancient, before which time no traces of them are to be found,* it may not be amiss to contrast

* See before, p. 7, seqq.

THE Epistles of Clement and Polycarp both contain words of Jesus quoted in such a manner, and so corre-

this theory, maintained at length in the first volume of his Introduction to the New Testament, with the opinions advanced in the fourth volume of the same work, from which I will quote a few passages.

The heretic Marcion, he says, began to spread his opinions in the West between the years 140 and 150. His Gospel, which he carried with him, "was strange" to the Christians in that part of the world, being different from those in use. "The West had been long in possession of separate histories of Christ. Mark and Luke appear, indeed, to have written theirs for Italy, and those of Matthew and John had each, perhaps, been brought by Christians on their travels, from the countries for which they were originally designed." "Before the controversy with Marcion, there are traces enough of the existence of the four Gospels separately, but not as collected into one volume." "This collection was probably formed in the commencement of those controversies." "Experience had sufficiently taught the *orthodox Church*, in the first half of the second century, how necessary it was, on account of the controversies with the heretics, to define the writings which should be regarded as sources of Christianity, and not to leave this to the judgment and choice of individuals." But the selection of these books was not made "through any formal decision of the Church by means of its most distinguished teachers; for this could not have been done privately; but through a silent general agreement during a period of perfect quiet in the Church, when, men's minds not being excited by other causes, none were inclined to set themselves against the reception of any writing that was strange to them; for, without opposition, and in perfect silence, a series of writings, regarded as the authentic records of Christianity, was unanimously received throughout the Christian world in the East and in the West." — *Einleitung*, IV. 22–31.

I am not about to remark on these passages. I quote them only on account of their inconsistency with the statements in the first volume of Eichhorn's work, which shows with how little consideration he adopted the theory there developed, notwithstanding its tendency to shake so essentially the credit of the Gospels. This theory, however, has struck its roots deep in the theological literature of Germany; and many offsets have sprung up from it.

spondent to words reported by Matthew and Luke,* that, if taken from any book, we may, in this stage of the argument, conclude, without hesitation, that they were taken from the Gospels. But a doubt arises, whether those words might not have been received immediately by oral communication from apostles and other immediate disciples of Jesus; especially when we recollect that Irenæus says, that he had heard Polycarp repeating the oral relations of John, and of other hearers of the Lord, concerning the doctrine and miracles of Jesus, all conformably to the Scriptures, that is, to the Gospels.† The knowledge which Polycarp derived from the hearers of our Lord, Clement may have received in the same manner; and therefore, though we may appeal to their writings as proving the authenticity of the Gospels, we cannot appeal to them as affording *direct* proof of the genuineness of the Gospels. But the genuineness and authenticity of the Gospels, though they may be regarded apart, are so essentially connected, that the proof of one involves the proof of the other. We prove their genuineness in order to establish their authenticity; and, on the other hand, if their authenticity be fully admitted, there can be no reasonable doubt of their genuineness. The evidences of both are mutually corroborative. But this is a topic which we shall have occasion to consider more at length hereafter.

THE manner in which the writings ascribed to Apostolical Fathers have been adduced in proof of the genuineness of the Gospels, is the result, as it seems to me, of an imperfect view of the nature of that proof. The mode of reasoning by which we may establish the genuineness of

* See Lardner.

† See p. cclxii.

the Gospels, has been regarded as much more analogous than it is to that by which we prove historically the genuineness of other ancient books; that is to say, through the mention of their titles and authors, and quotations from and notices of them, in individual, unconnected writers. This mode of reasoning is, in its nature, satisfactory; and would be so in its application to the Gospels, if the question of their genuineness did not involve the most momentous of all questions in the history of our race, whether Christianity be a special manifestation of God's love toward man, or only the most remarkable developement of those tendencies to fanaticism that exist in human nature. Reasoning in the manner supposed, we find their genuineness unequivocally asserted by Irenæus; we may satisfy ourselves that they were received as genuine by Justin Martyr; we find the Gospels of Matthew and Mark mentioned in the beginning of the second century by Papias, probably not sixty years after their composition; and to the genuineness of St. Luke's Gospel we have his own attestation in the Acts of the Apostles. Confining ourselves to this narrow mode of proof, we arrive at what in any common case would be a satisfactory conclusion. But, when we endeavour to strengthen this evidence by appealing to the writings ascribed to Apostolical Fathers, we in fact weaken its force. Most of these writings are spurious, or, to say the least, they cannot be proved genuine. Two, indeed, we believe to be genuine; but this very circumstance disqualifies their authors from affording the particular proof we wish; because we cannot show that the passages in which they correspond with the Gospels were not derived immediately from the oral communications of the apostles. At the very extremity of the chain of evidence, where it ought

to be strongest, we are attaching defective links which will bear no weight.

But the direct historical evidence for the genuineness of the Gospels, as it has been the purpose of this volume to show, is of a different kind from what we have just been considering. It consists in the indisputable fact, that throughout a community of millions of individuals, scattered over Europe, Asia, and Africa, the Gospels were regarded with the highest reverence, as the works of those to whom they are ascribed, at so early a period, that there could be no difficulty in determining whether they were genuine or not, and when every intelligent Christian must have been deeply interested to ascertain the truth. And this fact does not merely involve the testimony of the great body of Christians to the genuineness of the Gospels; it is in itself a phenomenon admitting of no explanation, except that the four Gospels had all been handed down as genuine from the Apostolic age, and had everywhere accompanied our religion as it spread through the world.

END OF VOLUME I.

ERRATA.

- Page 8, line 3, for 'mere assertions' read 'idle tales' (leeren Sagen.)
63, note *, line 3 from bottom, for 'Heres.' read 'Hæres.'
70, note, for "Seep. 66" read 'See p. 66'.
120, note *, line 2 from bottom, for 'record' read 'records'.
129, note, line 5 from bottom, strike out 'miscellaneous'.
139, lines 11 and 12 from top, for 'particular exemplifications' read 'a particular exemplification'.
174, line 12 from top, for 'first part' read 'First Part'.
184, note †, line 12 from bottom, for 'Hebræem' read 'Hebræern'.
196, line 10 from bottom, for 'carelessly substituting' read 'carelessly, substituting'.
225, line 4 from bottom, for 'was' read 'has been'.
cxviii., line 8 from bottom, for 'went' read 'were'.

ADDITIONS

MADE IN THE

SECOND EDITION OF THE FIRST VOLUME

OF

NORTON'S EVIDENCES

OF THE

GENUINENESS OF THE GOSPELS.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

FOR the use of those who own the first edition of the volume mentioned on the title-page, I have here given all the important additions made in the second. A. N.

NOTE*

On some Opinions and Arguments of Eichhorn, and other German Theologians.

My object in this work is, not to show in detail the errors of any particular hypothesis, or of any particular writer; but to exhibit the evidence of the proposition, that the Gospels, as we now possess them, are the works of those to whom they have been ascribed. But in order to maintain this proposition satisfactorily, it is necessary to take notice of the assertions and arguments which have been brought against it. Thus I have adverted in what precedes, and shall continue to do so occasionally in what follows, to the positions involved in the hypothesis of Eichhorn, respecting the time when the Gospels first became known and were generally received by Christians, the circumstances that produced their reception, and their previous history.

But if one had no other purpose than to overthrow that hypothesis, it might seem sufficient for him to say, that it is contradicted and set aside by Eichhorn himself. This will appear from what follows.

In the second edition of the first volume of his Introduction to the New Testament, he gives an additional section (p. 684, seqq.) on "The Reception of the Four Gospels for Use in the Church." He begins this section with representations similar to those which have been already quoted

* Inserted between the First and Second Parts of the work, after p. 108 of the first edition.

from him.* Referring to the end of the second century, he states, that "This age" — he does not here say "the Church" — "labored zealously and simultaneously to represent Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John as the only authentic biographers of Christ, as if this had not been done before; and an earnest effort was now first made to suppress the other gospels, which in earlier times had been abundantly in use." According to him, these labors and efforts soon attained success. In the time of Origen, "our four Gospels had manifestly triumphed over those before in use, in all the principal divisions of the Christian world; though, from the want of any account of the conflict, we are unable to explain how their success was obtained."

All this is sufficiently in accordance with what he had said before. But after a single sentence, in which he merely quotes Theophilus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and Irenæus as vouchers for the general reception and extensive spread of the Gospels, he thus proceeds:—

"The period immediately before the controversies respecting the heresy of the Montanists, and the time of keeping Easter (which commenced shortly after the middle of the second century), that is to say, the interval between the years 150 and 175, appears to be the fittest that can be assigned for the silent introduction of this unanimity of opinion respecting those gospels which merited a preference above others; provided any cause can be pointed out, which might facilitate such a decision. And such a cause existed. The other gospels either did not bear the name of any author, or the individual names of their authors were not specified. On the contrary, our four Gospels were ascribed, two of them to Apostles, Matthew and John, and two to

* See before, pp. 11, 12, of the first edition.

apostolic men, worthy of all credit. Who, therefore, would not prefer these to all others? This circumstance, and the simplicity of their contents, recommended them generally; and so forcibly and distinctly, that, without any consultation or agreement, men were led to give them the preference. In the peaceable times of the Church, before a spirit of contradiction had been excited by polemical bitterness, they were thus silently, and in effect generally, preferred. Afterwards, distinguished writers of the Church, each in his own way, defended the choice which had already been made."

It is obvious that this last passage is wholly irreconcilable with what immediately precedes it, and with the statements previously made by Eichhorn as fundamental positions in his hypothesis. In the section just quoted from, he first gives us to understand, that in the time of Origen, that is, in the first half of the third century, our present Gospels had manifestly triumphed over those before in use; but not without a conflict. He had previously said,* that there are no traces of our present Gospels before the end of the second and the beginning of the third century. About that time, according to him, "the Church," or "the age," first labored to procure their general reception, and to suppress those before in use.

But in the passage last quoted he supposes, that "the interval between the years 150 and 175 is the fittest that can be assigned for the silent introduction of a unanimity of opinion" concerning the four Gospels. All notion of any conflict between them and other gospels is put aside. They were received "silently," "without any consultation or agreement," "in peaceable times, before a spirit of controversy had been excited." The Church did not labor to

* See before, p. 11.

procure their reception about the end of the second or the beginning of the third century. On the contrary, the last year assigned for the period during which they were brought into common use is the year 175;—which preceded by about ten years the birth of Origen, during whose time, according to Eichhorn's first statement, they finally triumphed.

We have here an example of the looseness and incoherence of thought which are found in the works of many modern German theologians. Objects are so indistinctly presented, and under such changeable forms, the light is so thrown here and there, that the eye is dazzled and perplexed by the uncertain show and glimmer. The only advantages attending this mode of writing are, that if the reader be dissatisfied with one opinion, he may have the choice of another; and that the author, if driven from one assertion, may take refuge upon another, which he has equally maintained.

But it may be said, that this self-contradiction of Eichhorn should not be insisted upon; that it is a mere oversight, an hallucination. It was not, however, a temporary hallucination. Several years after the appearance of what I have just quoted, that is in 1827, the last year of his life, he published the fourth and fifth volumes of his *Introduction to the New Testament*; and in the fourth volume, without retracting, or referring to, the main positions of his hypothesis, he contradicts them as explicitly as in the passage that has been quoted. He is treating of the collection of the books of the New Testament into two volumes, as he supposes, one containing the Gospels and the other the Epistles.

The heretic Marcion, he says, began to spread his opinions in the West between the years 140 and 150. His gospel, which he carried with him, "was strange" to the

Christians in that part of the world, being different from those in use. "The West had been long in possession of separate histories of Christ. Mark and Luke appear, indeed, to have written theirs for Italy, and those of Matthew and John had each, perhaps, been brought by Christians, on their travels, from the countries for which they were originally designed." "Before the controversy with Marcion, there are traces enough of the existence of the four Gospels separately, but not as collected into one volume." "This collection was probably formed in the commencement of those controversies." "Experience had sufficiently taught the orthodox Church, in the first half of the second century, how necessary it was, on account of the controversies with the heretics, to define the writings which should be regarded as sources of Christianity, and not to leave this to the judgment and choice of individuals." But the selection of these books was not made "through any formal decision of the Church by means of its most distinguished teachers; for this could not have been done privately; but through a silent general agreement, during a period of perfect quiet in the Church, when, men's minds not being excited by other causes, none were inclined to set themselves against the reception of any writing that was strange to them; for, without opposition, and in perfect silence, a series of writings, regarded as the authentic records of Christianity, was unanimously received throughout the Christian world in the East and in the West." *

The utter inconsistency of this account with the statements in the first volume of Eichhorn's work show with how little consideration the hypothesis there developed was adopted by him, and has been adopted by others. That

* Einleitung, IV. 22-31.

hypothesis, however, struck its roots deep in the theology of Germany; and many offshoots have sprung up from it. There is no other in which propositions tending to weaken men's faith in the genuineness of the Gospels are so elaborately and plausibly embodied. It has essentially affected the speculations of a large class of theologians, particularly among his countrymen. All the doubts and objections on historical grounds, by which the evidence of the genuineness of the Gospels has of late years been assailed, have been connected with it. The question at issue is a very important one. Putting aside all religious considerations, the genuineness of the Gospels is a subject of far more curiosity and interest than that of any work of classical antiquity. But what should we think of a critic who should assail the genuineness of any ancient classical work with such unsteady and inconsistent assertions?

But something still remains to be said. One is placed in an extraordinary position who is arguing against the hypothesis of Eichhorn as invalidating the proof of the genuineness of the Gospels; for Eichhorn himself asserts and defends their genuineness. In the second volume of his *Introduction to the New Testament*, he reasons at length to prove the genuineness of the Gospel of John (pp. 223-254). I have already* quoted from his first volume one passage, in which he maintains the genuineness of all the four Gospels. But his fourth volume presents other passages more remarkable. In the flux and reflux of opinions on which his hypothesis was borne up, the flow was in his first volume, and the ebb in his fourth.

In the latter volume he treats of the formation of the canon of the New Testament. The early Christians, ac-

* See before, p. 95

according to him, proceeded on the principle of admitting into it no book which was not the work of an Apostle, or of a scholar and companion of the Apostles (p. 42). He gives us to understand, that as regards most of the books which compose it, "criticism, in the perfection to which it has been brought in our age, allies itself to the tradition of the Church, and confirms its judgment upon their genuineness as apostolic writings" (p. 67). After enumerating and remarking upon several which he rejects, he says:—"The remaining writings"—including the Gospels—"which the Church has received into the canon of the New Testament appear, after the strictest critical examination, as genuine documents of the Christian religion" (p. 70). The title of the next section is, "Confirmation of the Tradition concerning the Antiquity of the Writings of the New Testament; or Proofs of their Genuineness." These proofs are derived from their correspondence with the history of the times, and with the character and circumstances of those to whom they are ascribed. And the next section (p. 89) begins with the declaration, that "as the earliest age of Christianity handed down genuine writings to succeeding Christians, so they, during the subsequent period, have preserved these writings uncorrupted."

ALL this being asserted, it may seem, at first glance, as if it were useless to pursue the argument. One can prove nothing more than what his opponent, if he so regard him, has already contended for. But the genuineness of the Gospels is a subject of too serious importance for its proof to be suffered to rest on the self-contradictions of a German theologian.

INDEED, Eichhorn's assertions of the genuineness of the Gospels have made no impression on the theologians of his

country, or on those who have derived their opinions from them. De Wette (in the second edition of his Commentary on the Gospels, published in 1839) says, that in regard to "the historical criticism of the Gospels" (the meaning of which indefinite words we may deduce from their connection as being "the inquiry how far the history in the Gospels is true or false"), "if it be not too early for the present state of theology, it is too early for the state of my own views and convictions, to solve the whole problem of the criticism of the evangelical history; and I would not fall into the error, committed by most of the opposers of Dr. Strauss, of putting forward over-hasty and immature thoughts." The inquiry into the truth of the evangelic history is primarily connected, he says, with the results of criticism concerning the sources of this history, that is, with the inquiry into the origin and genuineness of the Gospels. But in respect to the first three Gospels, he has attained only to what he calls the *negative* conclusion, that they are founded on tradition; and with regard to the Gospel of John he has come to no confident decision. "It would be tolerably easy," he says, "to solve critically the problem of the Gospel-history, if the apostolical genuineness and credibility of that Gospel might be presupposed." This was done, he says, by the most free-minded critics before Strauss. But De Wette finds himself unable to answer satisfactorily the objections of Strauss and Weiss; he finds no sure foothold on the Gospel of John; and "I must, therefore," he says, "reserve many things which depend on the question of its genuineness till I am better informed hereafter."*

This appears in a work printed when the author was

* Exegetische Handbuch in d. N. T. Vol. I. P. iii. pp. 222, 223.

about sixty years old, after he had spent a great part of his life in the exposition of his opinions concerning religion and Christianity. It is part of a dissertation which concludes a commentary on the Gospels. If one is struck by the modesty of the writer in being unwilling at his age to put forward over-hasty and immature opinions respecting their credibility, yet, on the other hand, there may seem some want of consideration in undertaking to expound the character of our religion without any fixed opinions concerning the truth or falsehood of its history.

His younger contemporary, Strauss, to whom De Wette refers, has settled convictions on the subject. He is satisfied that the Gospels are neither genuine nor credible. He holds, at the same time, determinately, a correct opinion respecting the importance of the question of their genuineness. "Certainly," he says, "it would be of decisive weight to establish the credibility of the Bible-history, were it proved that it was written by eyewitnesses, or even by contemporaries in the neighbourhood of the events."*

But such, according to him, was not the case; and he proceeds to discuss the historical evidence for the genuineness of the Gospels in a dissertation occupying about ten pages (pp. 73-84) of the more than fifteen hundred which compose his work. Its depth is not disproportioned to its length; for nothing more superficial was ever put forward by a writer of any note as the examination of an important subject. But he considers it unnecessary to attend to the historical evidence, except so far as to show, that it does not interfere with the main purpose of his book, which is to prove directly from the contents of the Gospels that they are neither credible nor genuine.

* *Leben Jesu*, i. e. *Life of Jesus*. 3d Ed. Vol. I. p. 73.

In pursuing this purpose, his argument rests on two fundamental propositions. One of these he states explicitly, the other he does not. The first is, that "the chain of finite causes is indissoluble, and that a miracle is impossible."* As the whole history recorded in the Gospels is miraculous in its essential character, and full of accounts of particular miracles, this principle alone is sufficient to determine the thoroughly fabulous character of those writings. But Strauss, not content with this clear demonstration, has filled a great part of his work with criticisms founded on his second principle, which may be thus explained: If two or more books purport to be written by individuals who were personally, or by direct information, well acquainted with a series of transactions, and if, in professing to relate the same events, the authors of those books differ irreconcilably in some one or more of the circumstances attending them, we may conclude that the events never occurred, that the narratives are fabulous (or "mythical"), and the books not genuine. He labors, therefore, to make it apparent that there are such contradictions in the Gospels.

If a critic begin with putting out of sight the fact, that probably there were never two original histories of any considerable length, concerning the same series of events, which accorded with each other in all their details, his success in discovering objections to the credibility of books subjected to his examination may be proportioned to the rashness of his judgment, to the narrowness of his views, and to his deficiency in the learning and sagacity which might enable him to discern the explanation of what he does not at once understand, to perceive that seeming

* *Leben Jesu*, I. 86. Comp. pp. 94-98, 116.

are often not real, or not important, difficulties, and to come to the conviction, that a narrative may be essentially true in which there are errors. Excepting the objections of Strauss to every thing miraculous in the history of our Lord, the striking out of which, as he himself recognizes, leaves but a scanty and uncertain basis of true history, the criticisms in his work are directed rather against the doctrine that the Gospels were written by miraculous inspiration, than against their credibility. But his volumes are not without their value. They present a collection, from various authors, of difficulties in the history contained in the Gospels, to which their expositor should particularly direct his attention, and by the examination of which new light may be thrown on their narrative.

When Strauss's book appeared, German theology was becoming sear and yellow. But, though infidelity was predominant, the new form of infidelity brought forward by him caused a shaking among the dry branches, and reviews, pamphlets, and books were showered upon him, like autumnal leaves. I do not know whether in any of these answers there is a solid confutation of his two fundamental principles.

In what precedes in this note, I have brought together statements which stood apart in the original edition of this volume, and connected them with some additional remarks. Upon resuming in the text the argument for the genuineness of the Gospels, we shall—except in relation to the proof afforded by Justin Martyr—have little occasion or opportunity to advert to the errors, or opposite opinions, of other writers. The facts to be stated in evidence are undisputed; and of the reasoning upon those facts every one can judge for himself.

But in order fully to disembarass the subject on which we are about to enter from all objections except those made to the testimony of Justin, there are two topics which it may be well to take notice of here; especially as the argument respecting them lies within a narrow compass, and in treating the first of them we must recur to the conclusion which it has been my purpose to establish in the preceding part of this work.

THE first is the testimony of Papias to the authorship of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark. I have already adverted to it,* and shall produce it at length hereafter. Schleiermacher,† Strauss, and others have attempted to invalidate it.

As there is no question that Papias, *in the first quarter of the second century*, ascribed certain books concerning the history of Christ to Matthew and Mark, the only ground to be taken by those who would reject his testimony, and that, consequently, which has been taken, is, to contend that they were not the same books as the Gospels ascribed to Matthew and Mark *in the last quarter of that century*.

But, as I have said, the argument on this subject lies within a narrow compass. The proposition asserted must involve one of two conjectures. One supposition may be, that the books mentioned by Papias as the works of Matthew and Mark served respectively as the bases of the Gospels shortly after ascribed to them, and were converted into those Gospels by a gradual change. But, if the rea-

* See before, pp. 59, 60.

† In a dissertation "Upon the Testimony of Papias concerning our first two Gospels," first published (in 1839) in the journal entitled "Theologische Studien und Kritiken," and reprinted in the second volume of his Works.

soning in the preceding part of this work be valid, it has been made evident, that the Gospels were not formed by any such process, but remain the same works as they were originally composed.

The other supposition may be, that the Gospels ascribed to Matthew and Mark were originally different books from those spoken of by Papias; that they were spurious books (for if it be admitted that they were genuine, all discussion is at an end); but that, in the interval between the first and last quarter of the second century, they were quietly received throughout the Christian community, displacing the genuine works of Matthew and Mark, and causing them to be utterly neglected and forgotten. It is impossible to offer any confutation of this supposition which may render it more incredible than it appears at first view.

It has also been common to slight the testimony of Papias, on the ground that Eusebius says he was a man of very small mind. Referring to this, Schleiermacher says, "I have always been sorry when I have found this testimony dealt with in a certain disparaging manner";—though he himself endeavours to set it aside by the supposition, that Papias spoke of other books than the Gospels of Matthew and Mark. The opinion of Eusebius may have been correct; but those who have adduced it as having any bearing on the case in hand must have neglected to attend to the fact, that weakness of intellect does not enable one to speak of books as existing which are not in existence.

THE other topic to which I have referred is the attestation which Luke himself furnishes to the genuineness of his Gospel in the beginning of his Acts of the Apostles.

That the author of the Acts of the Apostles was the author of the Gospel is admitted. But it is contended that he was not Luke, the companion of St. Paul.

That he was the companion of the Apostle cannot, it is said, be proved from the frequent use of the pronoun "we" in the Acts of the Apostles. That book, it is said, is a compilation, and its author, wherever this pronoun occurs, made use of a narrative written by Timothy; and retained the pronoun as he found it in that document. There is a difficulty in this solution, arising from the first five verses of the twentieth chapter of the Acts, where Timothy appears to be separated from those who are designated by the pronoun "we." But this difficulty is easily got over. The circumstance, that the author of the Acts did retain the pronoun "we," in using the document of Timothy, presents another difficulty. Ulrich, the most elaborate defender of the hypothesis in question,* acknowledges that no solution of it fully satisfies him; but he considers it "a difficulty of subordinate importance," "a problem which may be left for the exercise of ingenuity."

The positive arguments brought in proof of this supposition I might endeavour to state and answer, if I could persuade myself that I should have any intelligent reader who would not regard me as wasting his time and my own.

"It is difficult," says Strauss,† "to reconcile many of the narratives concerning Paul in the Acts of the Apostles, some vacillating, some marvellous, and others contradictory to what is found in the genuine Epistles of that Apostle, with the supposition that the author of the book was his companion." But Strauss, not insisting upon the supposition, that the book was not written by a companion of Paul, suggests that, if it were so, the author wrote both the

* In two dissertations in the "Theologische Studien und Kritiken"; in No. 2, for 1837, and No. 4, for 1840.

† *Leben Jesu*, I. 79, 80.

Acts and his Gospel when he was no longer under the influence of the Apostle, and readily received the marvels with which tradition furnished him.

De Wette says, that it is with him "a settled conviction that the Gospel"—that is, the Gospel of Luke, or the Gospel ascribed to Luke—"was written after the destruction of Jerusalem."* I will give at length all the arguments which he adduces for this conviction.† "This Gospel," he says, "was composed at a pretty late period; for it supposes the existence of many preceding works on the history of Christ (ch. i. 1.), and the destruction of Jerusalem." His proof that it supposes that the latter event had taken place is this: "Luke," in the prophecy contained in his twenty-first chapter, "disconnects the coming of Christ from the destruction of Jerusalem, and indicates this more distinctly than Matthew." In making the first remark, he may seem to have overlooked the twenty-seventh verse of the chapter referred to: *Then will they see the Son of Man coming in a cloud with power and great glory.* But De Wette has not only an explanation for this passage (p. 228 of his Commentary on Matthew); he has still another argument: "Luke also assigns an earlier time to the persecution of the Christians than Matthew."

Matthew, after giving the prediction of our Lord respecting the wars and rumors of wars which were coming, represents him as saying (ch. xxiv. 9): "*Then*"—meaning not "afterwards," but "during that time"—"will they deliver you up to affliction, and put you to death." After a similar prediction of wars and commotions in Luke, follow

* Kurze Erklärung der Apostelgeschichte, i. e. Brief Exposition of the Acts of the Apostles, p. 6. 2d Ed.

† In his Introduction to the N. T. (in German), p. 184. 2d Ed.

the words (ch. xxi. 12): "But *before* all these things they will lay hands on you and persecute you." This is an example of the discrepancies which have been sought out in the Gospels. But its bearing on the question when Luke wrote his Gospel is not apparent.

We may be led, therefore, to turn for explanation to De Wette's Commentary * on the Gospels; and there, on the passage in Luke, is the following note:—"That Luke, in contradiction to Matthew, assigns an earlier date for the persecutions of the Christians, namely, *before* those wars and tumults, betrays the fact that, at the time when he wrote, those, indeed, but not these, had taken place." This is all which he remarks. The reference of "those" and "these" in the last clause is equally ambiguous in the original, as in a translation. But whichever reference may be adopted, it is obvious that the passage is equally without coherent meaning, upon the supposition that Luke wrote after the destruction of Jerusalem. Nor can I conjecture what meaning the writer thought himself to be expressing, or what argument he supposed himself to have found to prove that Luke's Gospel was written after the destruction of Jerusalem.

ONE cannot help feeling some reluctance to reporting such opinions and arguments as I have remarked upon in this note, a reluctance arising partly from their intrinsic character, and partly from an apprehension that there may be readers who will doubt whether they are reported correctly. Should such a doubt arise, it may be removed by a wider acquaintance with a large class of German theologians and critics, who speculate and reason in a similar manner.

* Kurze Erklärung d. Evv. d. Lukas u. Marcus.

The books I have quoted will not be read after the present generation has passed away ; and the opinions I have observed upon will soon cease to attract notice, except from the student of the history of theology. Such being the case, the present note may appear an unnecessary digression. But it seemed due to Eichhorn to state the fact, that he was a defender of the genuineness of the Gospels ; and to show that he had very fully contradicted his own hypothesis, that they were introduced into common use by the authority of the Church about the end of the second century. It was desirable, likewise, before entering on the proof that the Gospels have been ascribed to their true authors, to give some account of the exceptions which have been taken to it, especially as it could be done in so few words. And this note, in connection with the First Part of this work, may afford a general view of the present state of the whole controversy against the genuineness of the Gospels. — *Note to 2d Edition, 1846.*

CHAPTER IV.*

CONCLUDING REMARKS ON THE DIRECT HISTORICAL EVIDENCE OF THE GENUINENESS OF THE GOSPELS.

SUCH as we have seen is the direct historical evidence of the genuineness of the Gospels. The confirmation it receives from the manner in which they were regarded by the earlier heretical sects is still to be considered, and, likewise, all that proof to be derived from the Gospels themselves, which makes it evident, that they could have been written only by individuals bearing the character, and placed in the circumstances, of those to whom they are ascribed. For the present, we confine our attention to the direct historical evidence alone.

IN regard to this, the nature of the case is such, that no evidence of the same character, or of the same weight, can be produced for the genuineness of any other ancient work, which was not, like them, received as an undisputed book of the Christian Scriptures. It is the testimony of a great, widely-spread, and intel-

* Following p. 248 of the first edition.

ligent community to a fact about which they had full means of information, and in which they had the deepest interest. It is their testimony to the genuineness of books, the reception of which as authentic would change the whole complexion of their lives; and might, not improbably, put at hazard life itself, or all that they had before considered as rendering life desirable. It is the testimony of Gentiles to their belief of the genuineness and truth of books derived from Jews, — books regarded with strong dislike by a great majority of that nation; three of which were not in common use among those few Jews who, like them, were disciples of Christ; and all of which were so stamped throughout with a Jewish character, as to be likely, at first view, strongly to offend their prejudices and tastes.

BUT the peculiar nature and value of this testimony may be laid out of consideration. The fact alone, that the four Gospels were all received as genuine books, entitled to the highest credit, by the whole community of catholic Christians, dispersed throughout the world, admits of no explanation, except that they had always been so regarded. We have begun by reasoning from their reception during the last

quarter of the second century ; and their reception at that time affords, as we have seen, decisive proof of the estimation in which they must have been held during the whole preceding interval from their first appearance. But, though we may entitle this proof decisive, yet, like all other probable reasoning, it admits of confirmation ; and we have seen the confirmation afforded by the evidence of Justin Martyr, who gives direct proof, that the authority of the Gospels was established among Christians before the middle of the second century. I say before the middle of the second century, — for though this was the precise time when he wrote his first Apology, yet his testimony must be considered as relating to a state of things with which he had been previously conversant. We have next remarked the express and particular testimony of Papias to the genuineness of two of the Gospels, and to the estimation in which they were held by Christians. Then, tracing the stream of evidence back to its very source, we have seen Luke's own attestation to the genuineness of his Gospel. And in connection with this, and with the testimony of Papias, we have attended to the fact, that the acknowledged genuineness of any one of the Gospels must have presented an insuperable barrier to the

reception of any spurious gospel as a work of like authority. The testimony to the genuineness of any one of the Gospels is virtually a testimony to the genuineness of all; and the testimony to their genuineness is a testimony to their reception by all catholic Christians wherever they had become known.

But, in regard to our present argument, it is unimportant what period an objector may fix upon for the general reception of the Gospels as genuine. The later the period assigned for this event, the more obviously incredible does it become that it should have taken place, on the supposition that the Gospels were not received from the beginning in the character which they afterwards bore. The longer the Christian community had existed without a knowledge of the Gospels, or without a belief in their genuineness, the more difficult must it have been to produce this belief, and to cause them to be recognized as books of the highest value and authority. Let us suppose that they were not so regarded till the last quarter of the second century. Their general recognition at that period becomes a most remarkable phenomenon. Some very effective cause or causes must be assigned for it, sufficient to explain how four spurious books, not before known, or known

only to be rejected, should suddenly have obtained universal acceptance throughout the Christian world, as containing the truths fundamental to a Christian's belief. No trace of any causes capable of producing this result can be discovered or imagined. In the nature of things, it is impossible that such causes should have existed. The Christians of that age professed to receive the Gospels as genuine and authentic, on the ground that they had always been so regarded. The truth of this fact is the only explanation which can be given of the universal respect in which they were then held.

It appears, therefore, that the evidence of the genuineness of the Gospels is of a very different character from what we are able to produce for the genuineness of any ancient classical work. Very few readers, I presume, could at once recollect and state the grounds on which we believe the Epistles to Atticus to have been written by Cicero, or the History of the Peloponnesian War by Thucydides. But should any writer undertake to impugn the genuineness of these, or of many other ancient works that might be named, in the manner in which attempts have been made to weaken the historical argument for the genuineness of the Gospels,

he would hardly succeed even in gaining a dis-creditable notoriety.

BUT there are objections derived from the Gospels themselves, which are relied upon as doing away the whole force of the historical argument. It is urged, that the contents of one Gospel are irreconcilable with those of another, and, therefore, that the Gospels could not be the works of well-informed narrators. By the opponents of Christianity, the errors of theologians are commonly confounded with the truths of our religion; and, so far as the objection just mentioned rests on any tenable grounds, it bears, not against the authenticity and genuineness of the Gospels, but against the doctrine that they were written by miraculous inspiration. It would be an extraordinary fact, if these books presented on their face decisive objections to their own credibility which had been overlooked for eighteen centuries by intelligent Christians engaged in their study. To any one, indeed, who is capable of a just apprehension of the proof of the genuineness of the Gospels, afforded by their intrinsic character, nothing can appear more idle than such an attempt to prove, from their contents, that they

could not have been written by the authors to whom they are ascribed.

BUT there is another objection drawn from the essential character of the Gospels, which is, in fact, the root, and furnishes the sap and strength, of all others which have been urged against them. They contain the history of a miraculous dispensation ; and a miracle, it is asserted, is impossible.

This objection, if it can be maintained, is final, not merely in regard to the truth of the Gospels, and the truth of Christianity, but in regard to the truth of all religion.

The assertion, that a miracle is impossible, and, consequently, that such a miraculous intervention of the Deity as Christianity supposes is impossible, must rest for support solely on the doctrine, that there is no God ; but that the universe has been formed and is controlled by physical powers essential to its elementary principles, which, always remaining the same, must always produce their effects uniformly according to their necessary laws of action. This being so, a miracle, which would be a change in these necessary laws, is, of course, impossible.

But when we refer the powers operating throughout the universe to one Being, as the

source of all power, and ascribe to this Being intelligence, design, and benevolence, that is, when we recognize the truth, that there is a God, it becomes the extravagance of presumptuous folly to pretend, that we may be assured, that this Being can or will act in no other way than according to what we call the laws of nature; that he has no ability, or can have no purpose, to manifest himself to his creatures by any display of his power and goodness which they have not before witnessed, or do not ordinarily witness.

The assertion, therefore, that a miracle is impossible, can be maintained by no coherent reasoning, which does not assume for its basis, that all religion is false; that its fundamental doctrine, that there is a God, is untrue. The controversy respecting it is not between Christianity and atheism; it is between religion, in any form in which it may appear, and atheism.

One may, indeed, give the name of God to the physical powers operating throughout the universe, considered collectively, or to some abstraction, as the moral law of the universe, for example, or to some conception still more unsubstantial and unintelligible, and thus contend that he does not deny the existence of God. But there is but one view which an

honest man can take of the deception which in this and other similar cases has been attempted through a gross abuse of words, by which their true meaning is razed out, and a false meaning forced upon them. In contending with irreligion, we have a right to demand that we shall not be mocked with the language of religion.

BUT the fact has been overlooked, that, supposing the proposition to be admitted, that a miraculous intervention of the Deity is impossible, it would have no bearing on our immediate subject. No inference could be drawn from it to show that the Gospels were not written by those to whom they are ascribed.

The first disciples of our Lord, the first preachers of his religion, whether their account was true or false, taught that he was a messenger from God, whose authority was continually attested by displays of divine power, superseding the common laws of nature. They represented Christianity only under the character of a dispensation wholly miraculous. It has come down to us bearing this character from the first accounts we have of its annunciation, — from the time when St. Paul wrote those Epistles, the genuineness of which cannot be questioned. The fact that Christianity is a miraculous dis-

pensation was the basis of his whole teaching, and equally of the teaching of the other Apostles. It cannot be pretended, that any indication is to be found of its having been presented to men under another character. The effects which followed its preaching are such as could have resulted only from such a conception of it. The hypothesis, therefore,—for such an hypothesis has actually been put forward,*—that this was not the original character of Christianity,—that its first preachers did not announce it as a miraculous dispensation, but that some time during the lives of the Apostles, or immediately after, it assumed this character,—can be regarded only as one of the most extraordinary of those exhibitions of human folly which have lately been given to the world as speculations concerning our religion. There is no doubt, that the Apostles and their companions represented Christ as a messenger from God, whose divine authority was attested throughout his ministry by miracles. It can, therefore, be no objection to the genuineness of the Gospels, that such is the representation to be found in them. Whether true or false, it is the only representation that

* By Strauss, in his *Leben Jesu* (Life of Jesus).

was to be expected in histories of Jesus given by Apostles and their companions.

THE Gospels, then, contain that view of Christianity which was presented by its first preachers. We have in these books that solemn attestation which was borne by them, and was confirmed by circumstances that exclude all doubt of its truth, to facts in the ministry and character of Christ which evince his divine mission. And to this nothing is objected but a speculation, which supposes that all religion must be false.

IN regard to men's belief in Christianity, and their apprehension of its character, the present is an age of transition. We are leaving behind us the errors and superstitions of former days, with all their deplorable consequences,—the domination of a priesthood, tyranny over reason, persecution, false conceptions of morality by which its sanctions were often wholly perverted, and that disgust toward Christianity which the deformed image bearing its name, and set up for idol-worship, was so fitted to produce. But, through a revulsion of feeling, occasioned by this state of things, many of the clergy, particularly in England,—one is reluctant to say

many priests, though this is a title which they readily assume, — have turned about, and are travelling back into the dark region of implicit faith, Jesuitical morality, and religious formalities, absurdities, and crimes. On the other hand, there is a multitude of speculatists, who, in the abandonment of religious error, have abandoned religion itself, and whose only substitute for it, if they have any, is an unsubstantial spectre which they have decorated with its titles. Meanwhile, very many enlightened men, who have been repelled from the study of Christianity by the imbecility or folly of those who have assumed to be its privileged expositors and defenders, regard it, at best, only with a certain degree of respect, as being, perhaps, a noble system, if properly understood, and one the belief of which, even under the forms that it has been made to assume, is, at all events, useful to the community:— *Magnifica quidem res et salutaris, si modo est ulla.*

In order that we may pass from this state of things to a better, it is necessary that the intellect of men should be awakened and brought to exercise itself on the most important subject that can be presented to its examination. The result would be a rational and firm faith in Christianity, with all the consequences that must

flow from such a faith. The convictions which rest on reason are of very different efficacy from the impressions produced through prejudice, imagination, or passion. The latter may lead to great evil; the former can produce only good. There is a sense of reality attending the convictions of reason, which makes it impossible that they should not penetrate into the character. Let any one, in the best exercise of his understanding, be persuaded that the history of Jesus Christ is true, that the miracle of his mission from God, which belongs to the order of events lying beyond the sphere of this world, and concerning the whole of man's existence, is as real as those facts which take place in this world, conformably to the narrow circle of its laws with which we are familiar, and he has become intellectually, and can hardly fail to become morally, a new being. In recognizing that fact, he recognizes his relation to God, or rather, if I may so speak, God's relation to him. Life assumes another character. It is not a short period of existence in which we are to confine our views and desires to what may be attained within its limits. It is a state of preparation for a life to come, which will continue into an infinity where the eye of the mind is wholly incapable of following its course. Viewed

in the broad light which thus pours in upon us, their false coloring disappears from the objects of passion, and we perceive that there is nothing permanently good, but what tends to the moral and intellectual progress of the soul, and nothing to be dreaded as essentially evil, but what tends to impede it.

NOTE*

On Epiphanius's Account of the Gospel used by the Ebionites.

THE passages that have been preserved of the Gospel of the Hebrews, so called, in which some one or more of its copies varied from the Gospel of Matthew, may be found in the Codex Apocryphus N. T. of Fabricius, or in Jones on the Canon.

But from the passages that have been regarded as variations or additions in the Gospel of the Hebrews, should, I believe, be excepted all those given on the authority of Epiphanius. His account of the contents of the gospel used by the Ebionites is, I am persuaded, wholly undeserving of credit. The opposite opinion has been commonly held; and the Gospel of the Ebionites has been spoken of as a distinct form of the Gospel of the Hebrews. Not having sufficiently attended to the subject, I wrote, in the first edition of this work, on the presumption of the truth of this opinion. But the grounds on which it is to be rejected may appear from what follows.

Epiphanius, in a passage following one already quoted from him above (in which he asserts that the Ebionites "used the Gospel of Matthew alone in the original Hebrew"), says (Opp. I. 137), that the Gospel of Matthew used by the Ebionites was "not complete, but corrupted and curtailed," and proceeds to give the following example. In this Gospel, he says, it is written :—

"There was a certain man, Jesus by name, about thirty years old, who made choice of us. And coming to Capernaum, he entered the house of Simon, surnamed Peter; and, opening his mouth, he said, As I was passing along the lake of Tiberias, I chose John and James, sons of Zebedee, and Simon, and Andrew, and Thaddeus, and Simon the Zealot, and Judas Iscariot,—and thee, Matthew, I called, who wert sitting at the custom-house, and thou didst follow me. You, then, I will should be twelve Apostles to testify to Israel.

* Inserted in the place of note †, p. xlix of the first Edition.

"And John was baptizing. And the Pharisees went to him and were baptized, and all Jerusalem. And John had a garment of camel's-hair, and a leathern girdle round his loins; and his food, this gospel says, was wild honey, the taste of which was that of the manna, like a sweet cake with oil."

The last words, "*like a sweet cake with oil*," are a description of the taste of the manna, borrowed, inaccurately, from the renderings of the Septuagint, Exodus xvi. 31, and Numbers xi. 8.

This passage is characterized by such weakness and folly as to show, that it never could have made part of a book regarded as the authentic history of our Lord by any body of Christians, or by any body of men possessed of common intelligence. It exhibits those characteristics so strongly throughout, that it scarcely deserves to be particularly remarked, that eight individuals are called twelve Apostles; or that such care is taken to inform the reader concerning the taste of wild honey, by comparing it to that of the manna.

But should we reason on the supposition, that the passage was found in some history of Christ, it is evident, that, such being the case, it must have formed its commencement. It is not easy to perceive how this fact can be made clearer than it is at first view, or what doubt may arise concerning it which it is necessary to remove. But the absurdity of supposing the passage to occupy any other place may, perhaps, be brought more home to the mind by imagining it to be inserted, somewhere after the beginning, in any one of the four Gospels, or in any other gospel that may be conceived of.

But Epiphanius, immediately after quoting this passage, goes on to say (p. 138), "*Their gospel*" (the Gospel of the Ebionites) "*begins thus:—*

"In the days of Herod, king of Judea, John came baptizing the baptism of repentance in the river Jordan; being said to be of the family of Aaron the priest, the son of Zacharias and Elizabeth; and all went to him."

Epiphanius thus assigns two beginnings to his pretended gospel. No credit can be given to the account of a writer who sets out with a false statement in the form of so portentous a blunder. The two passages which he pretends to quote could not have coexisted in the same book.

In the passage last given, John is said to have baptized in the reign of Herod, king of Judea, that is of Herod the Great (so called); and these words are just afterwards alleged by Epiphanius again. But

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this Herod died more than thirty years before John's appearance. We cannot believe that so gross an error had a permanent place in a gospel received as a work of authority by Jewish Christians.

After what has been said, it is not necessary to bring into view all the other reasons which make it evident that the account given by Epiphanius of the Gospel of the Ebionites is a mere fabrication. But there are two or three other points which it may be worth while to attend to.

This Hebrew Gospel of Matthew, "corrupted and curtailed," was, as he affirms (p. 138), the same gospel which was used by the Carpocratians. But the Carpocratians, of whom I have elsewhere spoken (Part III. Ch. iv.), were a Gentile sect, widely differing from the Ebionites in their doctrines. Whatever conceptions they may have borrowed from Christianity, they certainly did not make use of a Hebrew Gospel. Any gospel which they were acquainted with must have been in Greek.

But, though there is no question that the Ebionites used a Hebrew gospel, yet the remarks of Epiphanius on one passage which he professes to quote from it (p. 146), imply the extraordinary oversight of regarding it as a Greek gospel. The Ebionites, he says, refrained from animal food. But our Saviour, he objects, partook of the Passover. And he pretends (p. 146), that, to meet this difficulty, the Ebionites had altered the words of Jesus, *I have earnestly desired to eat this Passover with you*, into an interrogation, *Have I earnestly desired to eat this Passover with you?* This change would be effected in Greek by prefixing the Greek particle $\mu\acute{\iota}$ to the sentence; and Epiphanius asks, "Is not their fraud to be easily detected from what follows, which proclaims that the $\mu\upsilon$ (the letter μ) and the $\epsilon\tau\alpha$ (ϵ) have been added?"

It appears, then, that he was commenting on a Greek text, real or imaginary. The words of our Lord which he quotes are not in Matthew, but in Luke (xxii. 15); and, to reduce all the statements of Epiphanius into one coherent charge, it would amount to this, that the Ebionites introduced a passage in Greek from the Gospel of Luke into the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew, for the sake of corrupting the reading, though they could gain no advantage by it.

I will remark on one other passage, the only one remaining of those which Epiphanius professes to quote from the Gospel of the Ebionites, excepting an account of our Lord's baptism, which I have omitted to notice, because it is not particularly important in regard to our present purpose.

By the fathers before and after Epiphanius, the Jewish Christians, generally, are represented as distinguished by their attachment to the Jewish Law, — Origen alone remarking, that some of them “had relinquished their ancient customs under the pretext of expositions and allegories.” The same character is also given of them by Epiphanius. “The Nazarenes,” he says, after his fashion (p. 122), “are in all things Jews, and nothing else.” “The Ebionites,” he says (p. 125), “hold the doctrine of the Nazarenes.” “Ebion adhered to the Jewish Law as to keeping the Sabbath, and circumcision, and all other things which are observed by Jews and Samaritans.” (p. 126.) The Ebionites, he affirms, calumniated St. Paul, because “he wrote against circumcision, and the Sabbath, and the Law.” (p. 140.)

Yet on the very page on which this last assertion stands, he abruptly introduces the declaration, that in the Gospel of the Ebionites Christ was represented as saying: —

“I have come to abolish sacrifices, and unless ye cease from offering sacrifices, wrath will not cease to be upon you.”

He makes this astonishing statement without any attempt to reconcile it with the well-known character of the Ebionites, or with his own account of them.

Epiphanius could not have afforded plainer indications than he has done, that the account given by him of his pretended Gospel of the Ebionites is utterly undeserving of credit. What may have suggested to him the fabrication, or what may have been his motive for putting it forth, must be a mere matter of conjecture. But it is evident that the account is to be thrown out of consideration in an inquiry respecting the use of the Hebrew original of Matthew by the Jewish Christians; and that no argument on any subject is valid which rests on the supposition of its truth. — *Note to 2d Edition, 1846.*

In the second edition, in connection with the mention of supposed interpolations in the Gospel of Matthew, I have referred to the words ascribed to our Lord in Matthew xii. 40; and have given the following note upon them, the place of which would be on p. lxix, of the first edition.

NOTE

On Matthew xii. 40.

I do not speak of the passage in the text, because I do not believe it to be an interpolation. I give the words in brackets, with those preceding:—

“A wicked and apostate race would have a sign; but no sign will be given it except the sign of Jonah the Prophet. [For as Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the fish, so will the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.]”

The words of our Lord are thus reported by Luke, Ch. xi. 29, 30:—

“This is a wicked race. It would have a sign; but no sign will be given it, except the sign of Jonah. For such a sign as Jonah was to the Ninevites will the Son of Man be to this generation.”

If we regard what is given by Luke as a correct report of what was said by Jesus, we may suppose that the explanation of the sign of Jonah, by a comparison of his being three days and three nights in the belly of a fish with our Lord's being three days and three nights in a tomb, which is found in Matthew but not in Luke, was introduced into our Lord's discourse during the time that it was preserved by oral tradition. His own brief words leaving his meaning undefined, they were understood by some as referring to the extraordinary marvel related in the story of Jonah; and, being so understood, this explanation became connected with them. There seems to be no reason for supposing that it was inserted in Matthew's Gospel by any other than the Evangelist himself.

But it cannot readily be believed that our Lord would have represented his being three days and three nights in the heart of the earth as the only sign of his divine mission to be given to the Jews. This would have been admitting what they had just implied, that no sign of his divine mission had already been given them.

Nor, if we regard as fabulous the story that Jonah remained alive for three days and three nights in a fish by which he had been swallowed, is it credible that our Lord would have referred to a fiction of this sort in the manner represented; — especially, as it does not appear from the narrative concerning Jonah that the supposed miracle was any sign to the Ninevites, or was even known to them.

It may be added, that our Lord is made to say, that he would be three days and three nights in the tomb. He was, in fact, laid in the tomb on the night of Friday, probably late at night, and rose before the dawn of Sunday morning; — and no use of language can be produced which may justify the calling of such a period of time three days and three nights. Its being so called can, I think, be accounted for only by the loose manner in which the Jews were wont to accommodate together passages of the Old Testament, and events of which they regarded those passages as descriptive, prophetic, or typical. Of this it is not a remarkable example.

The meaning of the words of Jesus as reported by Luke, and also by Matthew, with the omission of those under consideration, may be thus explained: —

Jesus was surrounded by men full of bigotry, evil passions, and mortal hatred toward himself, — men who were resisting the strongest evidences of his divine mission, ascribing his miracles to the agency of Satan, and demanding in mockery some sign of his divine mission, some manifestation of God's power in attestation of it, as if the most striking attestations of it had not been already given. His view turned to that destruction of their nation which was impending over the Jews, as the punishment of their rejection of him. No sign, he says, will be given to this wicked and apostate race, no manifestation of God's power will be made to them which they will believe and feel to be such, except a prophet of destruction such as Jonah was to the Ninevites, whose warnings — to pursue the train of thought which was in the mind of our Lord — will be disregarded, and whose predictions of ruin will be accomplished.

Thus he immediately subjoins: — "The men of Nineveh will rise up before the judgment-seat with this race and condemn it; for they

reformed upon the preaching of Jonah ; and lo ! one greater than Jonah is here."

However fabulous may be the story of Jonah, there was nothing unsuitable to our Lord's character in thus using it. Speakers and writers of every age and country have recurred to well-known works of fiction as readily as to authentic history for analogies and exemplifications fitted to affect the imaginations of their hearers or readers. It would be folly to suppose, that, in doing so, they meant to vouch for the truth of the books which they have thus quoted. It is only in the reasonings of divines, that these facts have been overlooked, — in those reasonings in which our Lord and the writers of the New Testament have been considered as giving their authority for the truth and for the genuineness of all books referred to or quoted by them.

LUKE, CHAPTER IX. VERSES 55, 56.*

WHEN our Lord and his disciples were refused hospitality by the Samaritans of a certain village, which was an act of peculiar disrespect according to the notions of that age and country, James and John, in common, doubtless, with the other disciples, were indignant at such treatment. They recollected what, according to the Jewish history, had been the dealings of prophets of old with those who offended them; they were disposed on this as on other occasions to take the lead among the disciples, and, under the excitement of the moment, they addressed Jesus with the question,—“Master, shall we call down fire from heaven and destroy them?—as Elijah did.

“But he turned and rebuked them; [and said, Ye know not of what spirit ye are. For the Son of Man came not to destroy men’s lives, but to save them.] And they went to another village.”

We can conceive of no words more appropriate to the occasion, more suitable to the character of our Lord, or better fitted to repress and correct the wrong feelings of his disciples. They conveyed a reproof full of instruction, expressed at once in the mildest and the most effectual form.

One who is not a critical student of the New Testament may therefore be surprised to learn, that these words were, probably, not in the Gospel of Luke as written by him. They are wanting in a large majority of the oldest and most important manuscripts.

* Inserted between p. lxxvii. and p. lxxix. of the first edition.

The omission of a passage which was part of the original text of a work must be the result either of accident or of design. No accident can be supposed which would lead to the concurrent omission of a passage in many manuscripts, which, like those in the present case, were written independently of one another, that is, of which one was not copied from another. There is only one class of accidents of omission which admits of any particular explanation, such as may justify us in supposing the possibility that an accident of this class, affecting a particular passage, might occur in a few unconnected copies. The omissions referred to are those which proceed from the circumstance, that one clause ends with the same word or the same series of syllables as another following it, so that the eye of a transcriber may glance from the former to the latter ending, and omit the intervening words;—omissions in consequence of an *homoioteleuton* (that is, “like ending”), as they are technically called. But this cause of omission does not exist in the passage before us.

If, then, the words ascribed to Jesus originally made a part of Luke’s Gospel, they must have been omitted by design; and this supposition has been resorted to. It has been suggested that they were struck out by catholic Christians, that the Marcionites might not use them in defence of their opinions.*

As I have elsewhere (in Part III. of this work) more fully explained, the Marcionites, in common with the other Gnostics, regarded Judaism as a very imperfect dispensation, with which Christianity in many respects stood in contrast; they conceived of it as proceeding not from the true God, but from an inferior god, who had fashioned this material world; and they believed that the Apostles gen-

* “Orthodoxī hęc videntur delevisse, ne Marcionitę haberent quos tuerentur.”—Wetstein, ad locum.

erally, through their Jewish prejudices, did not fully comprehend the character of Christianity. In the passage before us, our Lord is represented as saying to two of the principal Apostles,—“Ye know not of what spirit ye are”; that is, as I doubt not that the words should be understood, “Ye know not the spirit of my religion”; and in his own conduct he presents the spirit of Christianity in contrast with what was conceived to be the spirit of Judaism, as exemplified in the story concerning Elijah.* The passage, therefore, is one which the Marcionites might naturally have thought to be very much to their purpose.

But we cannot thus account for its omission. Nor can we adopt any other supposition, which is designed to explain its absence from so many copies, on the ground of there being something obnoxious in its character.

There is no evidence, and no probability, that transcribers among catholic Christians were accustomed to omit passages through the influence of any theological prejudice, or because they might seem to them to present a difficulty, of whatever kind that might be. If such had been the fact, there must have been abundant evidence of it in the present state of the authorities for settling the text of the New Testament; but such evidence does not exist. Catholic Christians, to say nothing of their reverence for the Scriptures, were not so deficient in honesty and in good sense as to adopt or countenance such a course. In regard to the passage before us, every transcriber must have shrunk from thus dealing with the words of Jesus himself. Without doubt, likewise, the generality of those engaged in the transcription and sale of books pursued their business as a trade, and troubled themselves little about the bearing of particular passages.

* The story is told in 2 Kings, Ch. i.

But should we admit that some few transcribers were so alarmed at the use which the Marcionites might make of the passage, that, though they could not expunge it from the copies of the Marcionites, they struck it out of their own, or that they were, for any other reason, so scandalized at the words of our Lord, that they resolved not to be concerned in preserving them, yet their misconduct could affect only the copies which they transcribed. If we suppose the omission to have been made after the controversy with the Marcionites had commenced, it could not have affected many thousands of copies already spread over the world, nor those copies which might be made by more trustworthy transcribers; nor could it have counteracted the constant tendency there would have been to fill up the gap which had been left,—the tendency among transcribers, of which I have before spoken, to insert and not to omit. We cannot, therefore, account for the absence of the passage from so many copies on the ground of intentional omission.

BUT it is further to be observed, that the Marcionites made no use of the words of our Lord, though apparently so much to their purpose. If they had done so, we should have evidence of the fact in the writings of their opponents, particularly of Tertullian. But nothing to that effect appears. This is the more remarkable, as Tertullian in his long work against Marcion twice notices the use which the Marcionites made of the narrative, by contrasting the conduct of Jesus and Elijah,* but refers to no appeal made by them to the words of Jesus. Had those words been generally recognized as genuine in the time of the earlier Marcionites, they could hardly have failed to use them.

* *Advers. Marcion. Lib. IV. c. 23. p. 438. Ib. c. 29. p. 446.*

IN discussing the question, whether a passage omitted in certain manuscripts should or should not be considered as a part of the original text, it has not been uncommon to array on one side the authorities which recognize it as genuine, and on the other side those which do not. The intrinsic value of one class of authorities, considered in reference to their general character, is then weighed against that of the other class, and the passage is judged to be genuine or not, according as either class preponderates;—except, indeed, that a zeal for defending the Received Text often causes the critic to lay a heavy hand upon the scale in which are placed the authorities for retaining it. But this mode of reasoning is wholly fallacious. If a passage be genuine, we may reasonably expect to find it, not in a majority of the copies of the work to which it belongs, but in all the copies, except so far as in particular cases a satisfactory reason may be assigned for its omission. If there be any copy in which it is not found, this is a fact to be accounted for. An interpolation may be extant in a majority of copies. It may have been originally inserted inconsiderately or fraudulently. It may by mistake have been taken from the margin into the text,—a mistake of so very frequent occurrence, that I am obliged often to refer to it.* Having been once inserted, its spread

* A marginal note has crept into the text, says Porson in his *Letters to Travis* (pp. 149, 150), “not merely in hundreds or thousands, but in millions of places. *Natura*, says Daillé, *ita comparatum est, ut auctorum probatorum libros plerique omnes amplius quam breves malint; verentes scilicet, ne quid sibi desit, quod auctoris vel sit vel esse dicatur*. To the same purpose Bengelius, *Non facile pro superfluo aliquid hodie habent complures docti viri* (he might have added, *omnesque indocti*), *eademque mente plerique quondam librarii fuere*. From this known propensity of transcribers to turn every thing into text which they found written in the margin of their MSS. or between the lines, so many interpolations have proceeded, that at present the surest canon of criticism is, *Præferatur lectio brevior*.”

from one copy to many is easily explained by the uncritical habits of transcribers, and their disposition to retain whatever they found given as a part of the text before them. The noted passage interpolated in the Jewish Antiquities of Josephus, in which mention is made of Jesus, is not only quoted by a series of Christian fathers from Eusebius downward, but is extant at the present day in all the manuscripts of that work. It appears, therefore, that the genuineness of a passage is not established by its being found in a majority of the most important copies of the work of which it may be supposed to be a part. To satisfy the conditions of proof required, it should be found in all; except (as I have said) a sufficient and probable cause can be assigned for its absence.

These are general principles of criticism, to be kept in view in regard to the passage before us, and others which we are about to consider. The present passage, indeed, is *not* found in a majority of the most important manuscripts, but it is found in a large majority of the manuscripts of Luke's Gospel, taken indiscriminately, and in many of the versions.

Its omission in the copies in which it is not found cannot, as we have seen, be accounted for as having been caused either by accident or by design. We must conclude, therefore, that it did not make a part of the original text of Luke's Gospel.

But, on the other hand, the words carry with them strong intrinsic proof that they were spoken by Jesus. Nor can we imagine any reason why, if not uttered by him, they should have been invented and ascribed to him.

In this state of the case, the only solution of the appearances that present themselves seems to be, that the words ascribed to our Lord were spoken by him, that they were preserved in the memories of those who heard him, and

communicated by them to others, and that, not having been recorded by Luke, they were first written in the margin, and then introduced into the text of his Gospel.

But the appearances are such, that, this general explanation being given, we must enter further into particulars. The Cambridge manuscript and some other authorities omit only the last words ascribed to our Lord, and preserve the first, namely, "*Ye know not of what spirit ye are.*" And some manuscripts, including the Vatican and the Codex Stephani η, which omit all our Lord's words, omit also the words, "*As Elijah did.*" It may seem, therefore, that the account of the words of our Lord and his disciples was not introduced in a complete form at once; but that the text owes its present state to marginal additions made at three different times; first, the words, "*As Elijah did,*" being written down, as these are wanting in the smallest number of manuscripts, then those first spoken by our Lord, and then his remaining words.

In the first edition, on page cvi, I have quoted the verses, Mark ii. 4 and Luke v. 19. In the second edition, I have altered the rendering of these verses, so that they stand as given below, accompanied with two explanatory notes; the first referring to an expression of Luke, and the second to the accounts of both the Evangelists.

Mark ii. 4. Luke v. 19.

Mark ii. 4. And not being able to get near him on account of the crowd, they removed a part of the awning over where he was, and, breaking through, let down the bed on which the paralytic was lying.†

Luke v. 19. And not finding any way to carry him in, on account of the crowd, they got on the house-top, and lowered him down from the roof,* with his bed, into the midst, before Jesus.†

* *Διὰ τῶν σιδηρῶν*, — which is equivalent to the Latin *per tegulas*, and does not, any more than the Latin words, signify “through the tiling,” or “through the roof.” To render verbally, we should say “by way of the roof;” but the meaning is here more intelligibly expressed by saying “from the roof.” — See Wetstein’s N. T. Vol. I. pp. 558, 559, and Kypke’s *Observationes Sacræ*, I. 230. See also, in relation both to this and the following note, Shaw’s *Travels*, pp. 273–280.

† To understand the accounts of Mark and Luke, we must attend to the following considerations.

Jesus was in the house in which he usually resided when in Capernaum, and which was probably owned by Peter. This, doubtless, was a small house,—the habitation of one who was not wealthy.

The more common notion has been, that Jesus was in an upper

chamber of this house ; and that the roof over the chamber in which he was, was broken through. But this, I think, is an error.

There are two objections to this conception of the circumstances of the case, either of which seems decisive. One is, that when such a crowd was pressing to hear him, our Lord would not have retired to an upper chamber of a small house that he might there address those only who could gain admission. The other is, that the breaking through of a roof over his head, with the inconvenience and disorder that it must have occasioned, would have been an act of such gross indecorum as is not to be imagined.

In essential conformity, then, with an explanation given by Dr. Shaw (in his *Travels*, as before referred to), we are, I suppose, to conceive of Jesus as in the inner court of the house, the place where, in the houses of Judea and the neighbouring countries, a large company was always received. The bearers of the paralytic, not being able to make their way to him through the crowd, ascended to the flat, terraced roof of the house, passing up stairs, which rose either from the porch or just by the entrance of the court, or perhaps passing over the roof of a neighbouring house ; and from the roof where they were, they lowered the sick man down into the court.

There is no difficulty in thus understanding the account of Luke. Mark's account requires a little further explanation. In this account, the word *στέγη*, rendered "roof" in the Common Version, denotes, I conceive, conformably to common uses of it, the awning stretched over the court, as an awning often was. This the bearers of the sick man partially removed ; but having done so, the parapet, which, according to the usual mode of building, ran along the roof over the court, probably about breast-high, as Shaw says it is at the present day, presented an obstacle to their purpose. Over the parapet they would not undertake to lift their burden ; for this could not have been done with convenience or safety. They accordingly made an opening through it, which Mark expresses by the word *ἡρξάντο*, "breaking through," without mentioning what was broken through.

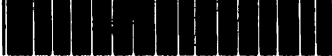
This is one instance, among many, of the imperfect style of narration found in the Evangelists. They did not advert to the fact, that what was clear to their own minds might not be equally clear to the minds of readers living many centuries after they wrote. They thought only of those who were familiar with the scenes and circumstances to which their narratives related.

HAVE altered above the rendering given in the first edition, which was conformed to the more common conception of the passage, it seemed proper to explain my reasons for doing so. Otherwise, I should have been unwilling to withdraw attention from the main argument before us. — *Notes to 2d Edition.*

ERRATUM.

p. 43, note, for 'p. lxxvii,' read 'p. lxxviii.'

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